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THE INFLUENCE OF MUSIC IN THE WORKS
OF JOHN MARSTON

BY



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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Influence of Music in the Works of John Marston" submitted by David George O'Neill in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

In the plays, satires and poems of John Marston, many metaphors and allusions are based on or derived from Elizabethan conceptions of both the practical and the speculative aspects of music. This thesis examines in detail the uses of this particular strain of language in Marston's works. The primary objective of the thesis is to illustrate the breadth and scope of Marston's knowledge and employment of musical terminology. Only secondarily is this terminology to be related to an over-all interpretation of his works, and where interpretations are given, it is only to illustrate how the uses of music are in agreement with Renaissance ideas about music, ideas which have too often been ignored in dealing with Marston's works. In Chapter One, I discuss the average Elizabethan's knowledge of music, the influence of Boethius' De Institutione Musica on English thought, and the study of Boethian ideas concerning music at Marston's university, Oxford. Chapter Two deals with Marston's use of the two most speculative aspects of music, musica mundana and musica humana ('the music of the spheres' and 'the music of man and his world'), and shows how they were for Marston metaphorical superlatives capable of suggesting and aiding both the tragic and comic, and important and specious. This Chapter also discusses how musical terms, such as concord and discord, might be associated with metaphors for reason and passion, for love and hatred, for peace and war, for sweetness and sourness, for order and chaos, and for joy and sadness. For this reason, Marston's characters often ask for music to

cure their "melancholy and despair," or use it as an integral part (which is more philosophical than conventional) or lovemaking and courtship, both profound and trivial. The differences between love and lust in Marston's works are emphasized by the opposition of primary speakers employing musical references: when love is the emotion concerned, the male addresses the female; when lust is the emotion concerned, the female addresses the male. The word "syren" then takes on a new light. The Chapter concludes with an explanation of Act IV of The Tragedy of Sophonisba which contains Erictho's infamous conjuration of musical spirits from the air. In Chapter Three Marston's knowledge of musica instrumentalis is examined. This technical aspect of music includes the many references to different types of musical notes, to descant and prick-song, to names for types of voices, to actual composers and their songs, to diapason and division, and to burdens and consorts. It also includes the naming of many types of musical instruments, Marston's knowledge of the Lancashire Sol-fa, and his employment of the classical modes of Aristoxenus. This Chapter concludes with an examination of the Elizabethan equation of music and literature and Marston's consciousness of himself as a writer-musician and his usage of 'Orpheus' as a pseudonym. Chapter Four contains a comparison of Marston's usage of musical allusions with that of Shakespeare and suggests that the extent of Shakespeare's knowledge of music may not be as singular as has heretofore been believed. This Chapter contains the conclusions arrived at after this study. Appendix A is an index and glossary of musical allusions in Marston's entire canon.

PREFACE

In this examination of the influence of music in the works of John Marston, I have used as sources his two major satires (Certaine Satyres and The Scourge of Villainy), the nine plays attributed to him, the first act of Eastward Hoe (which most critics believe Marston wrote), and The Insatiate Countess. The last-mentioned play is not usually included in Marston studies because of the authorship questions which it raises; its musical usages, however, are typically Marstonian and hence useful for this study. The index of musical allusions in Marston's canon (Appendix A) also incorporates his minor poems, the parts he wrote of "The City Pageant" of 1606, and his "Ashby Entertainment" of 1607.

In many places in the thesis, I give definitions and explanations of certain musical terms. My guide for these has been Percy A. Scholes' The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music, 2nd edition [edited by John Owen Ward], London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

In citations from original sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of various works, I have made only one alteration (unless otherwise noted) in transcription: the form of the letter "s" is always the modern one. Because many of these same works have extremely long secondary titles, only the truncated form of those titles as entered in Pollard and Redgrave's Short-Title Catalogue... (STC) has been given in my notes and bibliography. Where a complete title is of

extreme interest or value, it is included. In the bibliography, any work read on microfilm is accompanied by its STC number. Moreover, the reel number (those used by University Microfilms of Ann Arbor, Michigan) is included after the STC number of those works cited.

And finally, I must mention here, to save the reader any unnecessary confusion, that my quotations from Marston's canon are not from one edition of his complete works. No such edition (other than A.H. Bullen's competent but hard to find limited-edition of 1887) as yet exists. Hence, after some plays the reader will find act, scene, and line number; after other plays, merely a volume and page number; and after passages from the poems, only a page number.

1. Act, scene and line number indicate that the play is one of those five individually published by the University of Nebraska Press in the excellent Regents Renaissance Drama series, namely Antonio and Mellida, Antonio's Revenge, The Malcontent, The Fawn, and The Dutch Courtesan.

2. Volume and page number indicate that the play is one of those from the three volume edition of Marston's Plays by H. Harvey Wood published in the 1930's. Since Wood does not include line numbers in his edition (and his act and scene numbers are often arbitrary rather than actual), this is all that can be given to locate these plays, namely Histrion-Mastix [Wood's spelling, used in this thesis], Jack Drum's Entertainment, What You Will, The Insatiate Countess, Sophonisba, and Eastward Hoe.

3. Page number alone indicates that the quotation is from Arnold Davenport's fine edition of Marston's complete Poems published in 1961, and that these quotations then are from either Certain Satyres or The Scourge of Villainy.

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CHAPTER I

THE ELIZABETHANS, MUSIC AND BOETHIUS

In the plays and satires of John Marston (1576-1634), many metaphors and allusions are based on or derived from Elizabethan conceptions of both the practical and the speculative aspects of music. Although several twentieth-century critics have commented on Marston's frequent use of music in his stage-directions, few have either catalogued or explained his musical vocabulary. For instance, in The Music in English Drama, J.S. Manifold comments on the instrumentation in Marston's stage-directions, but totally ignores musical allusions in the body of the plays.¹ F.W. Sternfield, in Music in Shakespearean Tragedy, does allude to this musical strain in Marston's vocabulary, but does not examine it in detail.

This much may be said of Marston's early plays: his musical metaphors and puns are skillfully handled and his easy familiarity with the technical aspects of music is borne out by repeated references to such matters as breves In addition, Marston's quips and sallies utilizing musical terms aptly complement the actual singing and playing.²

Equally as vague as the above passage is a comment in G.H. Cowling's Music on the Shakespearean Stage which tantalizingly states that Marston's "plays contain many interesting experiments in the stage use of music."³ The only work of criticism which does examine Marston's usage of a musical vocabulary is a short article by Christian Kiefer.⁴

Kiefer, however, contents himself with relating but a few musical terms in his interpretation of one play only, and his study is by no means comprehensive, even as a study of a single work. Another brief article by R.W. Ingram is, like the Manifold book, primarily concerned with the relation of stage-directions for music to dramatic themes and theatrical effects.⁵

This thesis, therefore, proposes to examine in detail the uses of this particular strain of language in the works of John Marston. The primary objective of the thesis is to illustrate the breadth and scope of Marston's knowledge and employment of musical terminology. Only secondarily is this terminology to be related to an over-all interpretation of his works, and where interpretations are given, it is only to illustrate how the uses of music are in agreement with Renaissance ideas about music, ideas which have too often been ignored in dealing with Marston's works. It is most apparent, therefore, that to examine a vocabulary which is based solely upon music, we must first examine some of the major Renaissance ideas about music, and then attempt to determine how well-known these ideas were to both Marston and his audiences.

In his collection of apothegms on philosophy and the arts entitled Palladis Tamia, Wits treasury being the second part of Wits Common wealth (1598), Francis Meres states that "Boetius is esteemed a Prince and captaine in Musicke."⁶ Elizabethan ideas concerning music were largely based, as Meres suggests, on those principles stated by Boethius in his De Institutione Musica written early in the fifth century. To Boethius there were three distinct branches of music: musica

mundana, musica humana, and musica instrumentalis. To him a musician was one who thought about music beneficio speculationis ("for the thinking's sake"). A modern critic has made the following observations upon these four terms which comprise the essence of Elizabethan musical thought:

By musica mundana Boethius meant the harmony of the universe, including the cosmological order of elements, astral bodies, and seasons whose typical model . . . was for the Ancient and Medieval worlds, the music of the spheres. By human music he denoted 'that which unites the incorporeal activity of the reason with the body . . . a certain mutual adaptation and as it were a tempering of high and low sounds into a single consonance.' This paralleled the cosmic music in causing 'a blending of the body's elements'; the most significant term in Boethius' whole discussion of musica humana is the notion of 'temperament,' which was made to apply almost from the beginning of its linguistic history both to the tuning of strings and to the tempering of various parts of the human soul, thoughts, feelings, the relation of the soul to the body, etc. Boethius' third category, musica instrumentalis, involves what we would call music itself; but Boethius makes it clear that a true musician is not merely a practical singer, instrumentalist, or maker of songs. He must be one who 'on reflection has taken to himself the science of singing, not by the servitude of work, but by the rule of contemplation.'⁷

The extent of the average Elizabethan's knowledge of music--much less of Boethius--has, in this century, been the central issue in a musicological debate which must be examined before we approach Marston. On one side in this debate we have a man such as Wilfrid Mellers, whose opinion is summarized by the following passage:

The second half of the sixteenth century seems to me the most fundamentally musical period in European civilization. At no other time do we find such subtlety and maturity of technique functioning as naturally as the human organism. The general level of taste, among artists and 'folk', has never been so universally creative.⁸

This picture is quite rapidly defaced by the persuasive realism of Walter L. Woodfill, a spokesman for the other side in the debate, when

he comments that "something approaching reality appears when account is taken of the dependence of music accomplishment on aptitude, interest, and the availability of time, money, and teachers."⁹ Moreover, the numerous musical instruction-books published in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries would hardly have been necessary if England was the musical Utopia which Mellers imagines it to have been. Ultimately, one has to side with Woodfill in this debate, and conclude that most Elizabethans knew little about the more technical or aesthetic aspects of music, and most probably could not play an instrument of any kind.

One of the most famous instruction books of this time, Thomas Morley's A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597)¹⁰, begins with young Philomathes, a gentleman, seeking out the music Master in order to learn all there is to know about music. His reason for this desire for knowledge is often cited in arguments by critics of Meller's stamp. Philomathes tells us that he was invited to dine with some friends, and that after dinner occurred the following incident:

Supper being ended and music books (according to the custom) being brought to the table, the mistress of the house presented me with a part earnestly requesting me to sing; but when, after many excuses, I protested unfeignedly that I could not, every one began to wonder; yea, some whispered to others demanding how I was brought up, so that upon shame of mine ignorance I go now to seek out mine old friend Master Gnorimus, to make myself his scholar.¹¹

At first reading, this rather delightful anecdote does seem to imply a very high level of musical proficiency among the gentle class of Elizabethans. One must, however, finally agree with Woodfill that this

story is actually proof of an opposite state of affairs and, moreover, simply "an appeal, of a kind known in today's advertising, to the socially ambitious."¹² Our first example of the use of musical terms in the works of Marston seems to bear out Woodfill's conclusion. In The Malcontent, when asked if he can sing, the fool Passarello replies "Yes, I can sing . . . and I can play upon instruments, scurvily, as gentlemen do" (I.viii.2-3).

We can assume that the ideas of Boethius about music were not common knowledge in Elizabethan England, and that relatively few people were well-acquainted with the technical aspects of music. Speaking of his education in music (and with no mention of his grammar school education) Stephen Gosson writes that he "was first instructed in the university, / after drawn like a novice to these abuses [that music can create]."¹³ The university of which Gosson is speaking is Oxford. Here men learned about the ideas of Boethius in respect to music. In order to obtain a degree from Oxford, moreover, it was, as Nan Cooke Carpenter has shown, necessary to study music:

The forma to be fulfilled before attaining the baccalaureate (based upon the liberal arts and the three philosophies) specified four years (sixteen terms) in grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, and 'in musica Boetium,' giving the length of time to be spent in each, including 'duos (terminos) demum musicae.'¹⁴

Further elaborating upon this "forma" Professor Carpenter states that the study of music came under the title of a "mathematical discipline."¹⁵ The limited and predominantly upper class enrollment in the English universities suggests that knowledge of Boethius was not common in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

However, John Marston's years of attendance at Brasenose College, Oxford, were not for nothing.¹⁶ In all likelihood, it was here that he obtained his knowledge of both Boethius' ideas and Renaissance thoughts about music, and this knowledge he incorporates into a very interesting strain of language in his works. This strain of language, moreover, ranges from the speculative aspects of music, such as musica mundana and musica humana, to the practical aspects, such as musica instrumentalis, and it is with the former that we begin our study of the influence of music in the works of Marston.

CHAPTER II

MARSTON'S USE OF MUSICA MUNDANA AND MUSICA HUMANA

The musica mundana or "music of the world" of Boethius was (according to the definition cited in chapter one) involved with "the harmony of the universe, including the cosmological order of elements, astral bodies, and seasons."¹⁷ The model for this type of music was known as the "music of the spheres." In his translation of Andreas Ornithoparcus' Micrologus (1609), John Dowland gives a fine explanation for the existence of the spheres' music:

When God . . . had deuised to make this world moueable, it was necessary that he should gouerne it by some actiue and moouing power; for no bodies but those which haue a soule, can moue themselues. . . . Now that motion . . . is not without a sound: for it must needs be that a sound be made of the very wheeling of the Orbes The like sayd Boetius, how can this quick-mouing frame of the world whirle about with a dumb and silent motion. From this turning of the heauen, there cannot be remoued a certaine order or Harmonie. And nature will[s] . . . that extremities must needs sound deepe on the one side, & sharp on the other. So then, the worlds Musicke is an Harmonie, caused by the motion of the Starres, and violence of the Spheares.¹⁸

When we read a definition such as this, one which is a hybrid of philosophy and mathematics, we are not surprised to find that to Boethius the "summus ille musicus (the supreme musician) is Christ himself."¹⁹

A modern critic has given the following explanation for the Boethian emphasis on the relationship between philosophy and music: "Music was a speculum, a mirror of the Universal Order, and to contemplate it was to contemplate 'a hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole world.'"²⁰

In the works of Marston, there are but a few references to the music of the spheres. For him, it is a metaphorical superlative. He uses it to describe, or to have his characters describe, events and situations which are most extraordinary, so much so that nothing else, other than a profanity or blasphemous remark, is powerful enough in implication for him to use. In this way, "music of the spheres" or a synonymous word or phrase is used by several of his characters, both tragic and comic, important and unimportant. In the comedy, What You Will, for instance, Quadratus speaks of the sycophantic and incredibly exaggerated exclamations which Simplicius Faber makes every time the "scholar" Lampatho Doria opens his mouth:

Doth he [Lampatho] but speake, O tones of heaven it selfe,
 Doth he once write, O Jesu admirable
 Cryes out Symplicius: then Lampatho spittes,
 And sayes faith 'tis good.

(II, 246)

The music of the spheres is used also in a comic sense as above in Histrion-Mastix. When the four lawyers, Fourcher, Voucher, Velure, and Lyon-rash meet in the first Act and discuss how they are going to spend their afternoon, Fourcher suggests "lets goe see a Play" (III, 252). Voucher states that "this going to a play is now all in the fashion" (III, 252). The apparently rather stupid Lyon-rash agrees with their suggestions, and says, "Why then lets goe where wee may heare sweet musick and delicate songs, for the Harmonie of musick is so Heavenlike that I love it with my life" (III, 252). This seemingly innocent line carries in it suggestions which can too easily escape a modern reader's notice. Lyon-rash is demonstrating while allegedly purporting to be a "lover of musick" that he is really quite ignorant

concerning both "sweet musick and delicate songs." For Lyon-rash to use a phrase comparing man-made music to the music of the spheres, is, in itself, quite ludicrous. Man-made music was believed to be an imitation of the music of heaven, and as such was always grossly inferior to it.

The effects of the music of the spheres upon man's hearing and his very soul are also demonstrated in some of Marston's more serious lines and works. Exclaiming about his good fortune that the child, Julio, has walked into his arms in Antonio's Revenge, the crazed Antonio says:

Time, place, and blood,
How fit you close [cadence] together!²¹
Heaven's tones
Strike not such music to immortal souls
As your [Julio's] accordance [concord]
Sweets [harmonizes] my breast withal.
(III.i.157-60)

This strain of allusion continues when, in the next scene, Antonio gloats over his brutal slaying before the ghost of his father and screams "This is Julio's blood; / Rich music, father! this is Julio's blood" (III.ii.83-84). This scene is one of the most dramatically tense in the play. The use of an image based upon divine music to express glee just prior to the insane murder of an innocent child is, in addition to being ironic and singularly inappropriate, dramatically most effective. When related to musica humana, however, this use of music becomes more relevant, and this scene and the scene in which Piero is slain become more integrally united. This relationship will be examined in more detail at a later stage in this thesis.

There are several usages of the word "spheres" in The Insatiate Countess. During the dance and masque in the second Act, Massino²² says "The Spheares ne'er danc'd unto a better tune" (III, 23). Once again we see this phrase being used as a touchstone for man's activities. In this case, it refers to the excellence of the music for the masque. In the third Act, when the Countess Isabella is preparing to receive one of her innumerable love-conquests, she says:

Thou blessed Mercurie,²³
 Prepare a banquet fit to please the Gods;
 Let Sphaere-like Musicke breathe delicious tones
 Into our mortall eares; perfume the house
 With odoriferous sents [*sic*], sweeter then Myrrhe,
 Or all the spices in Panchaia:
 His sight and touching wee will recreate,
 That his five Sences shall be five-fold happy.
 (III, 47)

The mention of the word "mortall" and the use of "-like" after sphere imply that this type of music, once again, is to be considered a superlative and something quite above human reach, both in creation and audition.

Marston realized that musica mundana was but a traditional name and concept and used it only as a convenient metaphor. His "Introduction" to Jack Drum's Entertainment clearly demonstrates this:

He [Marston] vowes, if he could draw the
 musick from the Spheares
 To entertaine this presence with delight,
 Or could distill the quintessence of heaven
 In rare composed Sceanes, and sprinkle them
 Among your eares, his industry should sweat
 To sweeten your delights
 (III, 179)

From this metaphor, Marston turns to the music of man and his world, musica humana, a form of music which was considered a reflection of the music of the spheres.

The definition of musica humana cited in chapter one contained in it a quotation from Boethius' De Musica, defining this type of music as "'that which unites the incorporeal activity of the reason with the body . . . a certain mutual adaptation and as it were a tempering of high and low sounds into a single consonance.'"²⁴ A more complete definition is provided for us in Dowland's translation of the Micrologus:

Hymane Musick, is the Concordance of diuers elements in one compound, by which the spiritual nature is ioyned with the body, and the reasonable part is coupled in concord with the vnreasonable, which proceedes from the vniting of the body and the soule. . . . We loath and abhorre discords, and are delighted when we hear harmonically concords, because we know there is in our selues the like concord.²⁵

Because this definition contains the words "concord" and "discord," we may just as well cite here the Boethian definitions of them also found in the Micrologus:

Concord, (which rules all the Harmony of Musicke) cannot be without a Voyce, nor a Voyce without a Sound, saith Boetius. . . . Concordance (as saith Boetius) is the due mingling of two or more voices.²⁶

A Discord (as saith Boetius) is the hard and rough thwarting of two sounds, not mingled with themselves.²⁷

The importance of concord and discord in Renaissance musical theory cannot be underestimated. Citing "Origenes [Origen]," Francis Meres states that "Musicke dooth not delight the hearer except there bee concord." ²⁸

The relationship of concord and discord to man in the definitions cited is not arbitrary, and the use of this relationship in literature of the Renaissance is not simply for metaphorical or formulaic convenience. The root of the word "concord" is not, as one would think, the Latin for "a string of a musical instrument" (chorda, chordae) but rather cor, cordis, meaning "heart (feeling), soul, mind, thought or judgment" (OED). John Hollander observes that "the very origins of the word 'concord' . . . often even today [1961] are mistaken for being musical."²⁹

From the definition of musica humana by Ornithoparcus the reader might easily conclude that discords played a very small role in Renaissance music. This was not the case. Thomas Morley states that:

Discords mingled with concords not only are tolerable but make the descant more pleasing if they be well taken; moreover there is no coming to a close [here used in a literal non-musical sense: the end of a piece of music], specially with a cadence, without a discord, and that most commonly a seventh bound in with a sixth, when your plain-song descendeth³⁰

When a discord is taken it is to cause the note following be the more pleasing to the ear.³¹

Commenting upon this use of discords, Wilfrid Mellers concludes by saying that:

Concord is the basis of sixteenth-century harmony, [and] discord is a momentary disturbance before the concord's repose. We can never consider any discord in isolation but only in relation to the context which it appears in, for it is a part of the progressive evolution of a number of equally important lines.³²

This last point is one which should be remembered as we examine Marston's use of concord and discord: the presence of discord implies not so much

the total absence of concord as its necessary and imminent return. Similarly, all concord is inevitably interrupted by a momentary discord.³³

Marston seems to have been acquainted with the more intricate details of musica humana (as stated by Ornithoparcus), the harmonies which join the soul and body, the passion and the reason. An example of this belief in the dual composition of man occurs in The Malcontent when Malevole addresses the bawd Maquerelle: "Ha, thou art a melodious Maquerelle, thou picture of a woman and substance of a beast" (V.ii.8-9). This does not necessarily mean to say that passion is discord, but rather that when passion over-rules reason, the "faire proportion of man," the concord of his being is disrupted. The importance of this balance of opposites is emphasized by Massinissa in Sophonisba when he swears, to stress his mental stability after a brief outburst of passionate intensity, "By that by which all is, Proportion" (II, 41).

Concord and discord might be associated then with metaphors for reason and passion, for love and hatred, for peace and war, for sweetness and sourness, for order and chaos³⁴, and for joy and sadness. The passage previously cited concerning the murder of Julio in Antonio's Revenge is an excellent example of Marston's use of the manifold implications of concord and discord. As such, it deserves to be partially re-cited:

Heaven's tones
Strike not such music to immortal souls
As your accordance sweets my breast withal.
(III.i.158-60)

The person to whom Antonio is speaking is, as we have seen, the child Julio. The word "accordance" is a synonym for concord. Its meanings in this passage are numerous. It can be referring, of course, to the fact that Julio loves Antonio, a fact which he himself stated just a few lines earlier ("'Truth, since my mother died I lov'd you best" [III.i.153])). It can also be referring to the fact that Julio is an innocent: even though his passions and reason are puny (as are all children's) his soul is concordant because no passions disrupt the control of his reason. Moreover, it can refer to the fact that Julio's presence gives some form of order or proportion to the chaotic revenge plans in Antonio's mind at this time. The word following "accordance," "sweets," is also synonymous with concord, or at least closely related to it and to its effects. Its use here implies that Julio's presence has restored some form of concord to Antonio's mind. It also implies that Julio has retuned the "strings" of Antonio's heart or "breast" perfectly, if we remember the origin of the word concord and the many puns possible on the words chorda and cor.

From the presence of concord in man, it is but a short step to the presence of concord in nature and the world; the two are very closely related. Marston makes use of this "cause and effect" transferability of concepts in a passage in Antonio's Revenge as Antonio, Alberto, and Pandulpho prepare to bury Feliche:

Antonio:	Wilt sing a dirge, boy?
<u>Pandulpho</u> :	No; no song; 'twill be vile out of tune [i.e., inappropriate].
<u>Alberto</u> :	Indeed he's hoarse; the poor boy's voice is crack'd.

Pandulpho: Why, coz, why should it not be hoarse and crack'd,
 When all the strings of nature's symphony
 Are crack'd and jar? Why should his voice keep tune,
 When there's no music in the breast of man?
 (IV.ii.88-94)

A passage which is closely related to this one in choice of metaphor, although it inverts the emphases on concord in man and nature, occurs in Antonio and Mellida. At the masque in Act II, Mellida, seeking consolation in the music being played, states

O music, thou distill'st
 More sweetness [concord] in us than this jarring world;
 Both time and measure from thy strains do breathe,
 Whilst from the channel of this dirt doth flow
 Nothing but timeless grief, unmeasured woe.
 (II.i.191-95)

Mellida's choice of objects in this comparison is not done at random, for musica humana is a mirror of musica mundana. But although men have immortal souls, and immortal souls possess a sense which appreciates the music of the spheres, because men's bodies surround this sense with insensitive matter they cannot hear the musica mundana and, if they could, the matter which is the body and its faculty of hearing would make the celestial music dissonant.

From the comparison of the concord within man to the concord within nature it is but another short step to the more specific in nature: states and kingdoms. In this usage, concord assumes the characteristics of peace, and discord becomes either internal chaos such as a civil war and a political struggle, or war with another state or kingdom. In this sense, John Bodenham states that "Peace is the ground [bass] of kingdoms happinesse: / Nource of true concord, loue

and all encrease."³⁵ An excellent example of this usage by Marston occurs in Antonio and Mellida when the many problems of the plot have finally been resolved, the villain Piero has undergone a temporary character transformation, and the states of Genoa and Venice are once again united in peace: "Now there remains no discord that can sound / Harsh accents to the ear of our accord [concord]" (V.ii.251-52).

Precedent for this particularly "political" usage in Marston is not difficult to find, and the writers who established it (Elyot, Castiglione, Gosson, La Primaudaye, and Meres) were by no means unimportant ones. After he has concluded his "large sea of the praise of Musicke" in "The First Book" of The Courtier, Baldassare Castiglione says that "Musick is not only an ornament, but also necessarie for a Courtier."³⁶ Sir Thomas Elyot, in The Book Named The Governor, written in 1531 (three years after Castiglione's), elaborates upon this view when discussing the tutor's duties to his noble ward:

Yet notwithstanding, he [the tutor] shall commend the perfect understanding of music, declaring how necessary it is for the better attaining the knowledge of a public weal; which . . . is made of an order of estates and degrees, and by reason thereof containeth in it a perfect harmony.³⁷

Stephen Gosson echoes this association of the moral and well-ordered state with harmony by calling it a "True Musicke."³⁸ In the sixty-sixth chapter of his immense work (more than eight hundred pages in length) Pierre de La Primaudaye speaks "Of the Harmonie and agreement that ought to be in the dissimilitude or unlike callings of subjects...." Concerning this topic, he says:

Of such a dissimilitude an harmonically agreement ariseth by due proportion of one towards another in their divers orders & estates, even as the harmonie in musicke consisteth of unequall voyces or sounds agreeing equally together [sic].³⁹

Francis Meres states that "As the members of a naturall body by consent do helpe one another: / So the members of a politike bodie by concord do ayd one another."⁴⁰ Here we see the harmony in man compared, metaphorically at least, to the "music" in a state. In Histrion-Mastix, after "Poverty, Famine, Sicknesse, Bondage, and Sluttishnesse" have reduced Mavortius and Philarchus and their wives, Bellula and Perpetuana, to the levels of beggars, Philarchus asks the all-knowing Chrisoganus "How canst thou teach us then tranquillity?" Chrisoganus replies with tenets concerning the body politic which strangely echo Meres' "Members of a politike bodie by concord do ayd one another":

First entertaine submission in your soules
To frame true concord in one unity.
Behold the faire proportion of a man,
Whome heavens have created so compleate,
Yet if the arme make warre against the head,
Or that the Heart rebell against the braine,
This elementall bodie (thus compact)
Is but a scattred Chaos of revenge.
(III, 296) [my italics]

In a similar context, Malevole in The Malcontent, speaking of the chaos which his scheming accomplishes on both private and public levels, states that "Discord to malcontents is very manna" (I.iv.38). His role as a political nihilist or disrupter of the status quo is echoed by his associations with this quality in the first Act of the play when (the stage-directions calling for "the vilest out-of-tune music" [I.ii]) one of the play's characters observes that "the discord rather

than the music is heard from the malcontent Malevole's chamber" (I.ii.2-3).⁴¹

In the examination, in chapter three, of the modes, we will see the technical aspects of one of the most important characteristics of musica humana found in Marston's canon: the influences of music upon man. Because the soul of man was believed to be a mirror of the celestial music or musica mundana, it responds by sympathy with the man-made music which is an imitation and mirror of the music of the spheres. As we read in The Praise of Musicke, man-made music "being like that Harmonical motion which be [*sic*] calleth the soule, doth most wonderfullie allure, and as it were rauish our senses & cogitatiōs."⁴² Francis Meres states that "our heart . . . is the chiefe instrument of that heauenly Musicke" and that "as the body is the instrumēt of the soule: / so the soule is the instrumēt of God."⁴³

For Marston and his contemporaries, the effects of music were both numerous and powerful. Dowland's translation of the Micrologus contains a good indication of the extent to which music could affect man:

[Music] doth driue away cares, perswade men to gentlenesse, represseth and stirreth anger, nourisheth arts, encreaseth concord [i.e., harmony and peace], inflameth heroicall minds to gallant attempts, curbeth vice, breedeth vertues, and nurseth them when they are borne, composeth men to good fashion.⁴⁴

This list is, however, almost solely concerned with music's positive effects. Meres illustrates that it could also be negative or harmful to man: "There is a kind of Musicke that dooth asswage and appease the affections, and a kinde that doth kindle and prouoke the passions."⁴⁵

Richard Hooker has nothing but praise for music and calls it "a thing

which delighteth all ages and beseemeth all states."⁴⁶ He does, however, like Meres, qualify his list of positive effects by the inclusion of certain harmful ones:

[It is] an admirable facility which music hath to express and represent to the mind, more inwardly than any other sensible mean, the very standing, rising, and falling, the very steps and inflections every way, the turns and varieties of all passions whereunto the mind is subject; yea so to imitate them, that whether it resemble unto us the same state wherein our minds already are, or a clean contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, than changed or led away by the other. In harmony the very vice is perceived. . . . For which cause there is nothing more contagious and pestilent than some kinds of harmony; than some nothing more strong and potent unto good.⁴⁷

One of the most commonly-held beliefs concerning the effects of music upon man in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was its ability to both ease sorrow and cure madness. William Barley calls it "the soueraigne salve of a melancholly and troubled mind."⁴⁸ John Bodenham speaks of the ways in which "Musique quickens discontented hearts."⁴⁹ In The Praise of Musicke we read that music is a "medicine for our sorrowe," and that it "aswayeth [sic] and easeth the inordinate perturbations and euill affections of the mind."⁵⁰ Castiglione says that "the tunableness of musick (though it be but rude) is a verie great refreshing of all worldlye paines and griefes."⁵¹ In Philomela (1592), Robert Greene writes that "such minds as are vexed by sorrow finde no better reliefe then a sweete relish of comforting melodie."⁵² The theologian, Richard Hooker, speaks of it as a cure "sovereign against melancholy and despair"⁵³ and, similarly, Thomas Ravenscroft terms it "the earthly Solace of Man Soule."⁵⁴ "As it cureth melancholies, it much preuaileth against madnesse" and "hath a salve for euerie sore" states Thomas Robinson.⁵⁵ These quotations

demonstrate just how commonly-held was this particular belief concerning the effects of music.

That Marston was amply aware of this belief concerning the supposed effects of music upon man is demonstrated by a conversation which takes place among Brabant Junior, Planet, and Sir Edward Fortune in Jack Drum's Entertainment. Pasquil (thinking that he has forever lost his love, Katherine) has gone mad. Sir Edward states that "I am quite sunck with griefe, what shall we do / To get recovery of his wittes againe?" (III, 235).

Brabant: Let Musicke sound, for I have often heard
It hath such sweet agreement with our soules,
That it corrects vaine humours, and recalls
His stragling fancies to faire union.
Planet: Why the soule of man is nought but simphonies,
A Sound of disagreeing parts, yet faire unite[d]
By heavens hand, divine by reasons light.
Sir Edward: Sound Musicke, then pray God it takes effect.

[S.D. The Musicke soundes, and Pasquils Eye is fixt upon Catherine.]

Brabant: Mark with what passion he sucks up the sweets
Of this same delicate harmonious breath.
(III, 235-36)

Here, then, is an explanation for music's supposed ability to cure madness. It "re-tunes" man's heart and soul to a more concordant state. In curing sadness, which we may call a less permanent and less damaging form of insanity, music was thought to operate the same way. Syphax demonstrates this belief when, in Sophonisba, he says "now softer melody strikes mute / Disquiet nature: O thou power of sound / How thou dost melt me" (II, 49).

Because music was believed to be the "sovereign [cure] against melancholy and despair," it is not surprising that Marston has some of

his plays' despondent characters ask for music. Andrugio, the exiled Duke of Genoa, lamenting his predicament in Antonio and Mellida, says:

No sun will shine where poor Andrugio breathes.
My soul grows heavy; boy, let's have a song.
We'll sing yet, faith, even despite of fate.

S.D. Cantant

'Tis a good boy; and, by my troth, well sung.
O, and thou felt'st my grief, I warrant thee,
Thou would'st have struck division to the height,
And made the life of music breathe.

(III.ii.102-08)

One of the editors of this play, G.K. Hunter, notes that the phrase, "struck division to the height," means "produced the most exalted kind of music" (p. 39). The phrase can, in all probability, mean this. But, if we realize that the "division" was in addition the name both of a small base-viol and of those extempore variations on a theme performed on this same instrument, the phrase takes on a slightly more complex meaning. It is of itself, then, a stage-direction for the song to be accompanied by a viol, and indicates that the space between the parts of Andrugio's speech is longer than that required for but a short song. Moreover, the phrase indicates that if the boy knew of Andrugio's "grief," his music would, through variations on this theme, have climbed from the level of ordinary instrumental music to that of the music of the spheres. A third meaning of division (one which will be examined in the third chapter) suggests the breaking-up of a melody into many short notes. With this meaning, Andrugio's comment would imply that if the page understood his master's grief, the song would have contained no pauses in it whatsoever--it would be pure and ceaseless melody.

In this same play, Antonio asks that his page sing for him. The reasons for this request for music, however, are somewhat more complex than those of Antonio's father, Andrugio. For Antonio, music is both a consolation and a form of psychological therapy. His sorrow must be purged through music or it will lead to insanity:

I pray thee sing, but sirrah, mark you me,
 Let each note breathe the heart of passion,
 The sad extracture of extremest grief.
 Make me a strain; speak groaning like a bell
 That tolls departing souls.
 Breathe me a point that may enforce me weep,

 And thou shalt see me, like a man possess'd,
 Howl out such passion that even this brinish marsh
 Will squeeze out tears from out his spongy cheeks,
 The rocks even groan, and--
 Pray thee, pray thee sing,
 Or I shall ne'er ha' done . . .

S.D. The boy runs a note; Antonio breaks it.⁵⁶

For look thee boy, my grief that hath no end
 I may begin to plain, but--Pray thee sing.

S.D. Cantant.

(IV.i.139-44, 149-54, 156-57)

There is a very close relationship between this despair and Antonio's acts of vengeance in Antonio's Revenge, the sequel to Antonio and Mel- lida. That Antonio asks his page to "Make me a strain" and "speak groan- ing like a bell / That tolls departing souls" is metaphorically connected with his words in the sequel when, just before he murders the child Julio in what we are told is "St. Mark's Church" (III.i.3), he speaks of the "close [cadence] of vengeance strain" (III.i.141-42). The pre- lude to Julio's murder is, as the reader will recall, stated entirely in terms of music, and in the last speech in Antonio's Revenge, Antonio

asks "Sound doleful tunes, a solemn hymn advance, / To close the last act of my vengeance" (V.iii.171-72). The use of the word "close" indicates, along with the Julio speech, that Antonio's vengeance is executed not as an act which requires some form of psychological justification⁵⁷, but rather as a part of a huge musical performance, a concert which produces its own logic and psychology. The revenge, in other words, is its own logic: it is an independent and self-justified solemn work of music. The actual "revenge" or murder of Piero (whose own transformation will be partially clarified, as the reader will see in chapter three, by his invocation of the Lydian mode) which begins with the plucking out of his tongue in Act V scene iii is accompanied by stately music. The stage-direction in this scene calls for the dancing of a measure, and "while the measure is dancing, Andrugio's ghost is placed betwixt the music-houses."⁵⁸ Even this placement indicates an association of Andrugio with music during the murder of Piero. The two Antonio plays, then, comprise a unified action which is founded upon a logic arising from the presence of metaphors derived from music and extensive stage uses of actual musical performances.

Pandulpho is, in one of his requests for music, a good example of Marston's skilful interpolation of dialogue and stage-direction. The necessity for music to alleviate his sorrow is much more emphatic because Pandulpho claims to be a Stoic, one who should be superior to the debilitating effects of this particular emotion. Speaking of his Stoic principles, however, he reveals by his musical metaphors that his discipline has collapsed:

A wise man wrongfully but never wrong
 Can take; his breast's of such well-tempered proof
 It may be ras'd, not pierc'd by savage tooth
 Of foaming malice; showers of darts may dark
 Heaven's ample brow, but not strike out a spark,
 Much less pierce the sun's cheek. Such songs as these
 I often dittied till my boy did sleep;
 But now I turn plain fool; alas, I weep.

(Antonio's Revenge, II.i.81-88)
 [my italics]

Even before this collapse of Stoic discipline, though, Pandulpho had requested music to be played:

Come sit, kind nephew; come on; thou and I
 Will talk as chorus to this tragedy.
 Entreat the music strain their instruments
 With a slight touch whilst we--say on, fair coz.

Sound louder music; let my breath exact
 You strike sad tones unto this dismal act.
 (I.ii.298-301, 339-40)

The "Act" in this second quotation is the first Act of the play.

Pandulpho's request is for the theatre musicians to begin to play the entr'acte music which precedes the beginning of Act II.

Because the supposed effects of music upon man were so well-known, it is not surprising to find that Marston also uses the music-sorrow relationship in a comic way as a form of convention. In What You Will, Jacomo is described by his page as being struck with grief and "mad, alasse for love" (II, 237). His madness and grief are a result of his failure to become the lover of the beautiful and just-widowed Celia. Standing beneath her window and requesting his page to sing, Jacomo says:

O melt thy breath in fluent softer tunes
 That every note may seeme to tricle [sic] downe
 Like sad distilling teares and make--O God!
 That I were but a Poet now t'expresse my thoughts,
 Or a Musitian but to sing my thoughts,
 Or any thing but what I am, sing't ore on[c]e more:
 My greefes a boundles sea that hath no shore.

(II, 240 [The editor of these lines,
 H. Harvey Wood, prints them as verse ex-
 actly as here copied even though the fourth
 line upsets the metrical pattern.])

The humour in this "grand passion" is increased by the stage-direction which follows his speech: "Hee [the page] Singes and is answered, from above a Willow garland is floung downe and the songe ceaseth" (II, 240). This impersonal tossing of a symbol of grief for unrequited love at the foot of Jacomo makes his sorrow absurd. He has revealed not that he is totally insensitive, but that he has absolutely no conception of the decorum which should surround both widowhood and death.

In The Dutch Courtesan, Mulligrub also provides us with an example of how the sound of music could alleviate sorrow. His predicament, however, is a parody of the sorrows of such men as Antonio and Andrugio. After once again being tricked by the roguish Cocledemoy, the latter having just stolen from him a chalice or standing-cup worth over eleven pounds, Mulligrub states that

I will not curse nor cry, but heaven knows what I think! Come, let's go hear some music; I will never more say my prayers. Let's go hear some doleful music.

(III.iii.146-49)

This suggestion is, like Pandulpho's request for music, a call for the entr'acte music between Acts III and IV to begin. Just as music could

be regarded as a consolation to the sorrowful, therefore, it could also be regarded as part of a conventional reaction to all forms of disaster.

In two plays, Marston offhandedly includes music in some epigrammatic lines which clearly illustrate how lightly its supposed effects could be regarded. In Jack Drum's Entertainment, Sir Edward Fortune (having just indicated that his daughter Katherine may have done herself some harm because she believes that her lover is dead) simply shrugs his shoulders and says:

Broach me a fresh Butt of Canary Sacke,
 Lets sing, drink, sleep, for thats the best
 reliefe:
 To drowne all care, and overwelme all griefe.
 Powre Wine, sound Musick, let our bloods not
 freeze. . . .
(III, 206)

Quadratus in What You Will makes a similar statement:

Musick, Tobacco, Sack and Sleepe,
 The tide of Sorrow backward keepe.
(II, 252)

Francis Meres stated that music could both "asswage and appease the affections" and also "kindle and prouoke the passions."⁵⁹ Just as it could be useful in alleviating the sufferings caused by sorrow, then, music was also believed to be capable of generating or increasing sorrow. We see Marston making use of this much rarer supposed power of music in Antonio's Revenge when Piero, observing the despair of Antonio, asks his henchman to have music played: "Strotzo, cause me straight / Some plaining ditty to augment despair" (II.iii.129-30). Similarly, in The Dutch Courtesan, Freevill approaches his beloved

(who thinks him dead) in a disguise and says "I bring some music to make sweet [concordant] your grief" (V.ii.28-29). Piero's action is understandable: as Antonio's bitter enemy, it is very plausible that he would sadistically use music to intensify his enemy's grief. Freevill, on the other hand, is somewhat more difficult to comprehend. Why should he wish to intensify the grief of one whom he supposedly loves? Perhaps the answer to this question lies in Philip J. Finkelpearl's observation that Freevill is almost "a sadist whose love is fed by watching the beauty of his beloved's grief."⁶⁰ It must be emphasized, however, that the supposed power of music to generate sorrow is rarely mentioned in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writings: its more usual function is to relieve sorrow.

The association of Freevill's love with music makes necessary an examination of the music-love metaphors in Marston's canon. In a rather curious work, A Womans Woorth, Defended Against All the Men in the World (1599), Anthony Gibson states that "the Astronomers do holde, that Venus is the patronesse of Musique, and that the influence of her Planet, brings most speciall felicitie to such as deale in that facultie."⁶¹ The serenading of women in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, then, is more than simply a convention. As we have seen, man-made music was believed to have had a restful effect upon man because it was supposed to mirror the music in man's soul. Music was believed, moreover, to affect women more than men. Castiglione suggests that music is especially appealing to women because their "tender and soft breastes are soone[r] pierced with melodie, and filled with sweetnesse."⁶³ The use of the word "sweetnesse" here is commented upon by Gretchen Ludke Finney:

This harmonious love in music--or loving harmoniousness--the quality that pleases, that takes the place of beauty, was most often described as 'sweetness,' and regarded less as a primary cause of love than as a means to increase love. 'Sweetness' might indicate simply 'melliflousness [sic],' a smooth and pleasant flowing quality; but it also meant 'concord'--another name for love....⁶⁴

In What You Will, Laverdure speaks to Celia and says "come faire cheekes, come lets dance, / The sweetes of love is amorous dalliance" (II, 283). Finally, while looking at the connections between love, music, and women, it is interesting that Anthony Gibson (if no one else) thought that "As for Musique, among women it is so familiare, as their very voyce is naturally a hermonie [sic; possibly a wretched pun on 'her']".⁶⁵

In a line which will again be cited in our discussion of the technical aspects of music, Marston associates love and music metaphorically: "Beauty and youth run descant on love's ground" (Antonio and Mellida, II.i.162). (Indeed, one can only wonder if Marston called his heroine Mellida in this work in an attempt to vaguely suggest 'melody'.) He also asserts that women are of their very nature "harmonious" or "containing music" several times when some of his male characters are speaking of their loved ones. Describing Mellida, Antonio says:

Thou hast seen the glory of her sex
The music of nature, the unequal'd luster
Of unmatched excellence, the united sweet
Of heaven's graces, the most adored beauty
That ever struck amazement in the world.
(IV.i.172-76)

A similar list of superlatives is found in The Fawn where the Duke Hercules describes the long-suffering Donna Zoya:

. . . the grace of society, the music of sweetly agreeing perfection,
 more clearly chaste than ice or frozen rain, that glory of her sex, that
 wonder of wit, that beauty more fresh'd than any cool and trembling
 wind, that now only wish of a man

(IV.i.388-91)

The similarity in these passages (both contain, for example, the phrase "glory of her sex" and "sweet" or its derivatives) indicate that music was again used as a metaphorical superlative by Marston when he was at a loss for words to describe female perfection. For him, on occasion, "love [is] the [sic] life's music" and women are "things of beauty created for sweet use, / Soft comfort, and as the very music of life" (The Dutch Courtesan, I.i.131 & V.i.62-63).

In Jack Drum's Entertainment, the beautiful Katherine is desired by three men: Puff, Mammon, and Pasquil. The first two stand beneath her window and have their pages sing to her. Puff's rationale for his musical serenade is commonplace, and not really worthy of citation. The usurer, Mammon, on the other hand, in addition to showing us how crudely music could be exploited, also shows us one opinion of its power:

And tho my voice be rude, yet Flawne can sing
 Peans of beautie, and of Katherine.
 List to the Musicke that corrupts the Goddes,
 Subverts even desteny, and thus it shogges.
 (III, 197)

The rather Puritanical statement of music's power, combined with the ludicrous word "shogges," and the crude song which Flawne (the page) sings confirm our belief that Mammon is using music-love as a disguise for good old-fashioned lust. The final wooer in this scene is Pasquil. He is successful in courting Katherine because his use of music is not

an active one (that is, through song) but a passive one: it is a source, once again, of superlatives.

Unequald Katherine
 I bring no Musick to prepare thy thoughts
 To entertaine an amorous discourse:
 More Musick's in thy name, and sweet dispose,
 Then in Apollos Lyre, or Orpheus close.
 (III, 198)

Pasquil's second and third lines provide us with an excellent explanation of why music was so often used in courting. Its complex associations with the modes (to be examined in chapter three) and the emotions of humankind are here clearly seen.

On the whole, Marston's scenes of thwarted or comic courtship conventionalize the use of music while those of successful and usually tragic courtship employ it as a metaphor for profound passion. The comic Brabant Junior in Jack Drum's Entertainment illustrates the conventional necessity of providing a serenade to a lady:

Brabant: Gods pretious, I forgot to bring my Page,
 To breathe some Dittie in my Mistris eare.
Planet: Wouldst have a Ballet to salute her with?
Brabant: No, but a Song.
 (III, 202)

Brabant's ignorance of music (since we shall later see that a "Ballet" is a madrigal-like song similar to an ayre but with a dance lilt and a 'fa-la' refrain) indicates that his use of music is but a convention. Moreover, his final question to Planet indicates that he knows of no other way to court his lady.

The more serious uses of music in connection with genuine and noble love occur in Sophonisba. The numerous stage-directions for

music in Act I of this tragedy are intimately connected with the fact that this Act's central concern is its wedding-night scene. In the "Prologus" we read that "the night / Yeelds loud resoundings of the nuptiall pompe: / Apollo strikes his Harpe. . . (II, 7).⁶⁶ The naming of a classical mythological figure associated with music emphasizes, as does Pasquil's naming of him in his address to Katherine, the pure and noble quality of the love involved. Elsewhere in Sophonisba, moreover, this god is spoken of as "Carthage['s] Patron" (II, 12) and Apollo is invoked by Sophonisba in her prayer to keep her love pure (II, 36). Apollo's connections with music, Carthage, and love are further complicated by the fact that Sophonisba is called "Carthage['s] Palladium" (II, 18). Finally, when Sophonisba and Massinissa are reunited at the close of this play, the latter asks (in a rather confused metaphor) that "Sounds soft as Ledas breast / Slide through all eares, this night be loves high feast" (II, 58).

With its intimate connections with serious and often tragic love, music as used by Marston is also a metaphor for the loved one, and anything associated with a loved one is "musical." The best examples of this particular usage occur in The Insatiate Countess. The unknowing Count Massino, having been ensnared by the Countess Isabella's great beauty and quite unaware of her unquenchable appetites, says to her:

Ile teach you how to woo,
 Say you have lov'd me long,
 And tell me that a womans feeble tongue
 Was never tuned unto a wooing-string;
(III, 32)

The irony in this last remark is demonstrated several times by the Countess's use of music in connection with love. When she first hears Massino's voice, she says that "'Twas Musicke that he spake" (III, 23). Having sent her servant, Anna, to discover who the unknown courtier, Massino, is, the Countess eagerly greets her on her return and says: "Speake Musicke, what 's his name?" (III, 26). When her affections switch to Massino's friend, the Count Gniaca, Isabella again repeats her phrase which describes the nature of her loves and infatuations: "His tongue strikes Musicke ravishing my sense" (III, 42). As if in direct comparison to Isabella's use of music as a course of metaphor for her love is the Lady Lentulus's use of it on a literal level: after the infatuated Mendoza has had his page sing beneath her window, this Lady appears and asks "Who speakes in Musicke to us?" (III, 36).

In the passage cited above, Isabella speaks of the sounds of Count Gniaca's voice as "Musicke ravishing my sense." To digress for a moment from our discussion of music and love, it is interesting to note that "of all the ideas about music that the seventeenth century inherited from the classics, none was more persistent than the belief that music had power to elevate and refine the soul to ecstasy or rapture."⁶⁷ This particular belief never finds direct expression in any of the works of Marston, but the Duke in What You Will asks of his musicians "Cannot your trembling wiers throw a chaine / Of powerfull rapture bout our mazed scence?" (II, 290). A line spoken by Camelia in Jack Drum's Entertainment also suggests the power of song or music to enrapture: "Ile breathe [i.e., sing] amours, and even intraunce thy spirit" (III, 211). Later in this same play, Sir

Edward Fortune asks "Now Musicke beat the aire, / In trance our thoughts with your harmonious sounds" (III, 240). These references (along with a few others: see "enchant" and "rapture" in Appendix A) indicate that Marston was aware of music's supposed ability to elevate a listener to ecstasy even though he never uses it for more complex things, such as character motivation or change.

This contrast between the Countess Isabella and the Lady Lentulus leads us directly into a consideration of music's associations with lust. Previously we have used examples of Isabella's speech to illustrate the depth and power of her passion as opposed to merely conventional serenades and comic courtship scenes. Isabella's passion, however, is not one of pure love but of insatiate lust. Marston emphasizes the differences between love and lust in this play and others by the opposition of primary speakers employing musical references; that is, when love is the emotion concerned, the male addresses the female; when lust is the emotion concerned, the female addresses the male. We have already seen how Isabella uses musical metaphors in association with her lust-victims. It is she, moreover, and not her male lover who requests that music be played during their rendezvous:

Hermonius [sic] Musicke breathe thy silver Ayres,
To stirre up appetite to Venus banquet,
That breath of pleasure that entrances soules,
Making that instant happinesse a heaven,
In the true taste of loves deliciousnesse.
(III, 48)

Gniaca, one of her conquests, continues this strain of metaphor after he has been entranced by her and yet realizes that his love is tainted. Just before he and the Countess leave the stage (supposedly to make

Come Laie thy head then on my virgin lappe,
 And with a soft sleeke hand Il'e clappe thy cheeke,
 And wring thy fingers with an ardent gripe:
 Ile breathe amours, and even intraunce thy spirit,
 And sweetly in the shade lie dallying.
 (III, 211)

After she has decided that she does not want Ellis, Camelia begins to pursue Planet, and to the latter she says:

But smile upon me, and Ile make the aire
 Court thy choyce eare with soft delicious sounds.
 Bring forth the Violls, each one play his part,
 Musick's the quiver of young Cupids dart.

S.D. The Song [Camelia's] with the Violls.
 (III, 228)

Unfortunately for Camelia, Planet refuses to have anything to do with her, and his reply to this effect is quite emphatic:

Out Syren, peace scritch-owle, hence chattering Pye,
 The black beakt night Crow, or the howling Dog
 Shall be more gracious then thy squeaking voice.
 (III, 228)

Although Camelia appears to be an unsuccessful "insatiate countess," she is not completely a figure of fun. One of her would-be victims, Brabant, is willing to murder Planet for her love.

The description of the lusting female as a "Syren" and the motif of a lover murdering for her affections is found in The Insatiate Countess, Jack Drum's Entertainment, and The Dutch Courtesan. In the last-mentioned play, when Freevill and Malheureux have arrived at the courtesan Franceschina's residence, Freevill asks "Come, what entertainment? Go to your lute" (I.ii.84-85). A few lines later he orders "Come, siren, your voice . . . Siren, your voice, and away!"

(I.ii.104 & 110). Franceschina's song is of interest, moreover, because in it she compares herself to a nightingale.

The dark is my delight,
 So 'tis the nightingale's.
 My music's in the night,
 So is the nightingale's.
 My body is but little,
 So is the nightingale's.
 I love to sleep 'gainst prickles,
 So doth the nightingale.
 (I.ii.111-18)

The penultimate line (with its sexual double entendre) indicates a sexual insatiability in Franceschina which is fully in keeping with her association of herself with the nightingale as a creature whose "music" is made in the night. In this play, Malheureux attempts to murder Freevill in order to gain Franceschina's love. Marston's female lust-figures are, in more ways than one, rather dangerous characters.

Marston's use of the associations of lust with music was, by no means, a unique one. The Puritan objections to popular music in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were centred upon this particular association. In his quite astounding eleven-hundred page work, Histrion-mastix. The Players Scourge (1633), William Prynne (an indefatigable if not particularly inspired Puritan) condemns "effeminate lust-provoking Musicke."⁶⁸ Marston occasionally has instrumental music or song represent lust itself. For example, in The Malcontent, after Ferneze has entered the Duchess Aurelia's room for their adulterous meeting (the Duchess only recently having dismissed the evil Mendoza as her illegitimate lover) two of her servants speak:

Biancha: Hark! music!
Maquerelle: Peace, 'tis in the duchess' bedchamber.
 (II.iv.51-52)

The "music" here could be a reference to a song being sung or a metaphor for the adultery of Aurelia.

There is more than an indication that Marston believed that music was an integral and unsavory part of court-life and ritual. We have seen that two of his higher-ranking characters, the Countess Isabella of The Insatiate Countess and the Duchess Aurelia of The Malcontent, have music associated with their actions, actions which are often connected with lust. The fool Balurdo in Antonio's Revenge tells us that he "was made a knight only for my [singing] voice" (III.ii.47). Quadratus in What You Will speaks of "Daunces, sceanes, and songs, royall intertaine" (II, 252). This type of music, furthermore, is not the same as that of the lower classes, the people who are not inside the court circle or coterie. The difference between the two kinds of music is emphasized by the Duke in What You Will when he chastizes his musicians, saying: "And you cannot feast my thirsting eares / With aught but what the lip of common berth can tast, / Take all away: your labors idly wast" (II, 290). That Marston considered music to be an unsavory part of all courts' activities is revealed by several passages in The Malcontent. Pietro, trying to convince Aurelia to return with him to his simple hermit's cell, speaks denigratingly of "Masques, / Music, tilts, tourneys, and such courtlike shows" (IV.v.12-13). The masque-figure of Mercury who appears at the end of this play orders the masquers to "pass away this high triumphal night / With song and dances, court's more soft delight" (V.vi.57-58). The unsavory nature of this

music is best revealed in this play when Malevole describes the strongest "incitements to immodesty" which attacked a young lady newly arrived at court: "Her veins fill'd high with heating delicates, / Soft rest, sweet music, amorous masquerers [sic], / Lascivious banquets, sin itself gilt o'er" (III.ii.37-39).

Act IV of Sophonisba contains a usage of both musical stage-directions and allusions which have never before been explained or placed in their Renaissance context. H. Harvey Wood approaches this scene in the proper manner when he says that it, "like many others in Marston, is . . . built around the music," but he fails to see how music is the total rationale for what he elsewhere calls a scene "calculated to fit the taste of the 'baser sort.'"⁶⁹ In the Argumentum of this play, Marston speaks of one of his themes as being a demonstration of "the folly to inforce free love" (II, 6). Syphax lusts after Sophonisba but is incapable of touching her while she refuses to reciprocate his passion. After two separate attempts to ravish her, in Act IV he calls upon Erictho, a witch, and asks her to help him overcome Sophonisba's resistance (that is, "to inforce free love"). While Syphax is describing Erictho (in the passage to which Una Ellis-Fermor so objected⁷⁰), the stage-directions have indicated that music has been playing (II, 46-47). It accompanies twenty-four of his lines. When Erictho does speak, she promises to conjure spirits from the air which will aid Syphax in his conquest of Sophonisba's chastity.

Then when I shall force
 The ayre to musicke, and the shad[e]s of
 night
 To forme sweete sounds: make proud thy
 rais'd delight.
 Meane time behold I goe a charme to reare
 Whose potent sound will force our selfe to
 feare.

(II, 48)⁷¹

It is this conjuration which is the total rationale for an otherwise seemingly incongruous and quite inexplicable lapse of dramatic decorum on Marston's part. It is, however, most decorous for Marston to use music in this scene of enforced lust, for the entire play until this point has made extensive use of music. Stage-directions for both song and instrumental music have been numerous, and the masquing in the first three Acts has occupied a large part of the play's action.

Erictho's promise, furthermore, has no basis in the source which Marston used for the rest of her "ghoulish" attributes: Lucan's Pharsalia (Book VI, lines 441-830) contains no mention of her conjuring of spirits by the use of music.⁷² This act is, in fact, based upon a seldom stated Renaissance belief. Sir John Davies employs a milder version of this belief in his Orchestra or A Poem of Dancing (1596), a work which Marston satirizes in The Scourge of Villainy (1598), "Satire XI." In stanza twenty-one of his work, Davies mentions the time, in classical mythology, when "Amphion with his charming lire / Begot so sweet a syren of the ayre."⁷³ Speaking of this belief, Gretchen Ludke Finney writes:

Lucovico [sic] Lazarelli (according to his Crater Hermetis, published 1505) hoped not only to call down demons, in the tradition of the Asclepius, but to create them. Sounds themselves became demons. Ficino's

warm and living air took on the shape of demons, which possibly were conceived of, writes D.P. Walker, as 'separate bits of the Holy Spirit or the spirit of Christ.'⁷⁴

The relationship of Davies' "syren" and Marston's "sweete sounds" to these demons is very close.

Returning to Sophonisba, we realize that Marston's use of these "demons" is most explicit. Note the following lines spoken by Syphax:

Harke, harke, now rise infernall tones
The depe fetch'd grones
Of laboring spirits that attend
Erictho.

(II, 49)

That these lines were italicised in the 1606 quarto edition of the play indicates that some special value was probably given them by Marston. Moreover, just prior to this observation by Syphax occurs the often-debated stage-direction "Infernall Musique softly" (II, 49).⁷⁵ The explanation for the striking supernatural effects in this scene is the association of music and lust. The irony involved in the revelation of the consequences of this action (revealed in Act V scene i when Syphax discovers that he has lain with Erictho, not Sophonisba) is foretold in certain of Syphax's lines in Act IV:

O thou power of sound
 How thou dost melt me. Harke, now even
 Heaven
 Gives up his soule amongst us . . . (II, 49)

Now nuptiall Hymes [sic] inforced Spirits
 sing
 Harke, (Syphax) harke:
 Now Hell and Heaven ringes
 With Musique [in] spight of Phoebus. (II, 49-50)

By associating music and lust, and lust with a female, Erictho, Marston is simply expanding upon a usage which we have seen in other of his works. That Syphax comments upon the "inforced Spirits" singing is reminiscent of the lines quoted from the Argumentum about the "folly to inforce free love." It is not, ironically, the love of Sophonisba which is won by Syphax, but the love of Syphax which is won by Erictho. To condemn Act IV as base spectacle is, ultimately, to reveal that one is totally unaware of the complex associations which it employs that center around music, lust, and musical spirits.

With Sophonisba, Marston's most ambitious combination of stage-music and musical metaphors, we conclude our examination of musica humana, the music of man and his world. We now turn to the more practical as opposed to speculative, aspects of music in Marston's works.

CHAPTER III
CROTCHETS TO ORPHEUS : MUSICA INSTRUMENTALIS
AND MARSTON

In the late sixteenth-and early seventeenth-centuries, "music" was very often equated with "harmony." Many different writers provide us with ample proof of this equation. In an anonymously written Dictionary French and English (1571), "Musique" is defined as a "harmonie of instruments."⁷⁶ Stephen Gosson calls it "this perfect. Harmony" in The Schoole of Abuse (1587)⁷⁷, and in The Schoole of Musicke (1603) Thomas Robinson terms it "none other then a perfect harmonie."⁷⁸ This equation is rather confusing for the modern reader accustomed to nineteenth-and twentieth-century views concerning harmony. In the Micrologus translated by John Dowland, the problem is solved to a degree by a definition which mentions "the art of Harmony, which the Grecians call Musicke."⁷⁹ The idea of harmony being an art, and this art being what we now call music is, though, still slightly puzzling. John Hollander observes, in this respect, that

Our whole modern sense of 'harmony' and 'harmonious' is conditioned by our experience of polyphonic music, so that 'harmony' cannot help but suggest the ordering of simultaneously sounding musical tones, taken together as a 'package' or gestalt.⁸⁰

[italics in original]

Hollander goes on to say that both Renaissance and Classical musical theory

devoted little discussion to what we would call today 'harmonics.' The Greek harmoniai were scales, or melodic schemata; in general, harmonia is to be thought of as referring to melody rather than to vertical tonal aggregates.⁸¹

When we substitute modern for Elizabethan words, then, music becomes a "melody produced by instruments," "a perfect melody," and "the art of melody." This substitution renders some rather vague definitions somewhat more meaningful to the modern reader. On the whole, the terms which the Elizabethans used for the technical aspects of music are terms which are still used today, albeit with some more explicit associations. It is this technical aspect of music, the practical aspects of the art, which we must now examine in Marston's works. In order to demonstrate that his more complex uses of music and musical allusions are not simply conventional or formulaic references, we must decide whether or not his knowledge was comprehensive. At all times, however, the reader must remember that the conclusions at which we arrive are based on the incidental use of allusions in drama, not in a musical tract; that is, our examination can provide us with but an indication of the extent of his knowledge. It is highly unlikely that his works would utilize every word of the musical vocabulary he undoubtedly possessed.

The most basic musical terms found in Marston are the names of certain notes. In asking for a song to ease his sorrow in The Malcontent, Pietro says to his page "Sing of the nature of women, and then the song shall be / surely full of variety, old crotchets . . ." (III.iv.29-30). Morley gives to a "crotchet" the time-value of what is today called a quarter-note.⁸² This word also means "an odd, whim-

sical or stubborn notion" and its use here, then, is a pun. In imploring Flavia to sing in Antonio and Mellida, Catzo says that "the brief and the semiquaver is, we must have the descant you made upon our names, ere you depart" (II.i.45-46). Again using Morley as a guide, we find that a brief or "breve" had the value of two whole-notes and a semi-quaver the value of a sixteenth-note.⁸³ These two notes, then, used as they are by Marston, are, I believe, simply a musical substitution for the cliché "the long and the short of it" The word "descant" in this same passage illustrates the necessity of an examination of Marston's use of the technical terms associated with singing.

Although one would think that the simple word, "song," cannot have more than one meaning, it was possible in the Renaissance for this word to imply an instrumental piece of music. For example, Giovanni Croce speaks of hearing the psalms "soong, (though sometimes without the words)."⁸⁴ The imperative, "Sing!", therefore, could be a request for an instrument or group of instruments to be played. In Act III scene ii of Antonio and Mellida, Andrugio says to his page, "let's have a song" (104). His description of this song, however (as the reader remembers from chapter two), contains terms which apply to instrumental variations on a theme performed on a small bass-viol (II. 105-08).

There were primarily two types of song known to Marston and his contemporaries: descant and prick-song. "Descant" implied a part extemporized by a singer to a non-extemporized part sung by another singer. It also referred to the simple art of what is today called

"whether by instrument or by voice," as "being but of high and low in sounds a due proportionable disposition."⁸⁶ In Pierre de La Primaudaye's The French Academie, we read that "harmonie in musicke consisteth of vnequall voyces or sounds agreeing equally together."⁸⁷ The names of these "voyces" in instrumental music are given us by Thomas Robinson: from the highest to the lowest they are the "Treble, Small Meanes, Great Meanes, Contra-tenor, Tenor, [and] Base."⁸⁸ John Hollander observes that the term, "meane," is

employed, in connection with English music of the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, to designate the middle part in a polyphonic composition The three voices of the most common compositional scheme were designated treble, mean, and tenor, reading from top to bottom.⁸⁹

The "ground" which Thais mentions above is the same as the "Base" named by Robinson. In fact, the two words were usually combined, and a "ground base" implied either a very low-pitched tone and sound or a short bass phrase repeated many times with varied upper parts. In Antonio and Mellida, for example, in a line previously cited, Piero states that "beauty and youth run descant on love's ground" (II.i.162).

Marston uses two more of the terms named by Robinson: "treble" and "mean". In Antonio and Mellida, once again, after his page has sung to him, Piero says: "Trust me, a good strong mean. Well sung, my boy" (V.ii.19). In this same play, the fool Balurdo (in describing a signet ring which he desires to possess) says that the engraving of the motto upon it "must sing a small treble" (V.i.33). Similarly, in What You Will, when the Pedant desires that one of his students sing for his guests, he says: "his voice was to[o] smale and his stature

to[o] loe, sing, sing a treble Holi-fernes; sing." Upon the completion of the boy's song, the Pedant remarks: "A very smale sweete voice Ile assure you" (II, 256).

In the ten plays attributed to Marston and in the first act of Eastward Hoe (an act attributed to him in this collaboration of Marston, Jonson, and Chapman), there are twenty-six actual song titles or texts and thirty-two stage-directions indicating that the players are to sing (viz., "Cantant"). Although few of the songs which appear in their entirety have been identified, and some of them were undoubtedly written solely for inclusion in particular plays, there is enough evidence in Marston's canon to indicate that he was aware of and used the popular ballads, madrigals, ayres, and ballets of his time.

In Antonio's Revenge, the title character urges Castilio to sing with Galeatzo in order to awaken Mellida:

Sing one of Signior Renaldo's airs
To rouse the slumb'ring bride from gluttoning
In surfeit of superfluous sleep.
(I.ii.149-51)

The editor of the edition of this play used in this thesis, G.K. Hunter, notes (at p.16 n.) that this composer is "perhaps the Paduan Giulio Renaldi (fl. 1569)." Hunter's guess is probably correct. Thomas Morley gives an example of "proportions" in music in his A Plaine and Easie Introduction . . ., and says that the example is "out of the works of Giulio Renaldi."⁹⁰ The editor of this edition of Morley's work, R. Alec Harman, notes that Renaldi lived from c. 1500-c. 1570, and that Morley's example is from Renaldi's Madrigals and Neapolitans

to Five Voices (1576), more particularly a song called "Diverse lingue," the eighth song in this collection and one based upon a phrase in Book III of Dante's Inferno. Morrison Comegys Boyd does not include any editions of Renaldi's madrigals in his very complete Elizabethan bibliography of composers and compositions, however, and I have not been able to ascertain whether any of Renaldi's compositions were readily accessible as a possible source for other of Marston's songs.⁹¹

Marston's naming of an Italian composer is both an allusion suited to the atmosphere of his play and one with topical connotations. In the preface of his Madrigals to Five Voyces (1601), a work printed by Thomas Morley, Richard Carleton notes that he has "laboured somewhat to imitate the Italian, they beeing in these dayes (with the most) in high request, yet may I not nor cannot forget that I am an English man."⁹² The year of publication of Carleton's work is the same as the date of publication of Marston's play.⁹³

In the fifth Act of Antonio and Mellida, Balurdo the fool sings these two lines: "And if you will my true lover be / Come follow me to the greenwood" (V.i.35-36). G.K. Hunter, citing F.W. Sternfield's observations in Music in Shakespearean Tragedy, notes (p. 65 n.) that the first line is from a song called "How should I your true love know" and the second from "Hey jolly Robin." In this same play, Balurdo, singing "Do me right, and dub me knight" (V.ii.26), parodies a song called "Monsieur Mingo" which was also used by Shakespeare in 2 Henry IV, V.iii.77-79.

In The Malcontent, Malevole begins to recite the words of a song, says one line, and then changes the topic of his conversation.

The line which he utters, "When Arthur first in court began--" (II.iii.9), is from the same ballad which Falstaff begins to sing when he comes on stage in 2 Henry IV, II.iv.33-34. Falstaff sings little more of this song than does Malevole: "When Arthur first in court And was a worthy king."

The musical setting for Franceschina's song in The Dutch Court-
esan in which she compares herself to a nightingale is preserved still in the British Museum.⁹⁴ A line in this song ("I love to sleep 'gainst
prickle, / So doth the nightingale" [I.ii.17-18]) is, I think, an echo
of a line in Song XVI of Robert Jones' First Booke of Songes and Ayres
(1600). Jones' line reads: "But then her tunes delight me best /
When perched with prick against her breast."⁹⁵ The sexual implications
of this song have already been explored in another part of this thesis.
Franceschina also sings an incorrect version of Song XIX from this
same Booke of Songes by Jones. It is interesting to compare the verses
of the two:

Marston

Mine mettre sing non oder song--
But still complain me do her
 wrong:--
For me did but kiss her,
For me did but kiss her,
 And so let go.
 (II.ii.54-60)

Jones

My mistress sings no other song,
But still complains I did her
 wrong.
Believe her not; it was not so,
I did but kiss her. . .
 And let her go.⁹⁶

Boyd's bibliography lists six collections of music by Jones published
between 1600 and 1611.⁹⁷ It appears that he was a popular and well-
received composer, and that Marston employed his popularity in his
plays.

In the first act of Eastward Hoe (an act which the three editors of Ben Jonson, C.H. Herford, and Percy and Evelyn Simpson, say "is given by common consent to Marston"⁹⁸), Gertrude sings several lines from different songs. These editors cite one line, "Thus whilst she sleepes I sorrow, for her sake . . ." (III, 94), and note that it is from the song "Sleep wayward thoughts, and rest you with my love" in John Dowland's First Book of Songs or Aires (1597)⁹⁹. The other songs of Gertrude remain unidentified.

The combination of sounds produced by a song for several voices or a group of musical instruments is called a diapason. This term implies that all the voices, strings, or wind instruments are sounding together and producing a rich chord in perfect harmony. In The Scourge of Villainy (1598), Marston has his persona state that "when some pleasing Diapason flies / From out the belly of a sweet touch'd Lute, / My eares dares say tis good" (171). Here Marston is referring to the pleasant sounds produced by plucking two strings in unison on the lute as well as suggesting a much less common meaning of "diapason." Robinson states that "those bases [bass strings] are called Diapasons."¹⁰⁰ This one word, then, contains a multiplicity of meanings: it can refer to a deep or low-pitched musical tone, a rich chord, the string on an instrument, and the bass or "ground-base" of a work of harmony (i.e., a polyphonic piece of music).

Opposed to the concepts involved in the word "diapason" are those implied by the word "division." In The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image and Certaine Satyres (1598), Marston (describing the fate of Orpheus at the hands of the Bacchantes) says that "And straight

they teare the sweet Musition, / And leaue him to the dogs deuision" (90). Here again he uses a musical term with more than one meaning or implication. The technical definition of the word suggests the breaking-up of a melody into many short notes; Orpheus' song would be broken-up by his being attacked by the dogs. Arnold Davenport suggests (p. 255 n) that the yapping of the dogs (their "division" or distraction) would both destroy the song by interrupting it continuously and destroy the singer by tearing him to pieces. In Antonio and Mellida, we see an alternate usage of this word. Balurdo, upon entering the music contest which takes place in Act V, says that if he "knock not division on the head take hence the harp" (V.ii.21-22). This usage implies that he shall triumph completely in singing descant because his song shall have no pauses in it as do others' extempore songs.

In two of Marston's plays we see the word "burden" or "burthen" used. This is the name for the recurring line sung after each stanza of a ballad or similar vocal composition. In The Malcontent, Malevole asks Passarello "Canst sing, fool?" The latter replies "Yes, I can sing, fool, if you'll bear the burden" (I.viii.1-2). In this passage, "burden" refers both to the refrain, to the bass-line of the song, and literally to the fact that the fool cannot sing very well. In Jack Drum's Entertainment, Camelia asks Ellis "What shall we make some purposes or sing?" Ellis replies "I will sing, so you will beare my burthen" (III, 211). Here "burthen" refers to the refrain, to the fact that Ellis is about to rest his head in Camelia's lap, and further sexual innuendoes.

Another musical term which Marston frequently uses in his works

is "consort." This is the Elizabethan spelling for the word which we now spell "concert"; its sense is any body of performers playing together. A "whole consort" is one in which all the instruments are of strings or of wind. A "broken consort" contains a mixture of the two types of instruments. Marston also uses "consort" in its modern sense of "keeping company with." An example of a usage of "consort" with both its musical and modern meanings occurs in The Dutch Courtesan when Freevill describes the actions of the rogue Cocledemoy: "The house being full, Cocledemoy consorted with his movable chattel, his instrument of fornication, the bawd Mistress Mary Faugh" (I.i.13-15). Speaking to the audience of Antonio's Revenge, the "Prologue" says: "If ought of these [anguished] strains fill this consort [the audience themselves] up, / Th' arrive most welcome" (p. 3). In this same play, the villain Piero, unwittingly placing himself in the hands of the revengers who are disguised as masquers, says "Only myself? O, why, with all my heart. / I'll fill your consort; here Piero sits" (V.iii. 60-61).

For performers, whether descanters or prick-singers, boys with mean or treble voices, or the members of a whole or broken consort, the completion of their particular piece of music was called the "close." This term is what we today call a "cadence," any melodic or harmonic progression which has come to possess a conventional association with the ending of a composition, a section, or a phrase. In Marston's time, however, combined with this implication of something ending was the suggestion that the "close" involved either several notes, parts, or performers. Thomas Morley defines a "cadence" as "that when, coming

to a close, two notes are bound together and the following note descendeth thus: [he gives an example] or in any other key after the same manner."¹⁰¹ Elsewhere, Morley says that "without a cadence in some one of the parts . . . it is impossible formally to close [i.e., to end a piece of music]."¹⁰² In the address "Ad Rithmum" (which means "To Rhyme" and not "To Rhythm" or "To Meter") in his The Scourge of Villainy, Marston speaks of his language in this work and says: "Come riming numbers, come and grace conceite, / Adding a pleasing close, with your deceit / Inticing eares . . . "(128). A much more complex use of this word occurs in Act II scene ii of Antonio's Revenge. This scene contains one of Marston's highly theatrical uses of repetition-as-echo. The lines in which we are interested follow:

<u>Antonio:</u>	And close laments with--
<u>Alberto:</u>	[within] O me, most miserable!
<u>Pandulpho:</u>	[within] Woe for my dear, dear son!
<u>Maria:</u>	[within] Woe for my dear, dear husband!
<u>Mellida:</u>	[within] Woe for my dear, dear love!
<u>Antonio:</u>	Woe for me all; close all your woes in me, In me, Antonio! Ha! where live these sounds? I can see nothing; grief's invisible And lurks in secret angles of the heart. Come, sigh again, Antonio bears his part. (II.ii.64-73)

Antonio desires that all sorrow come to a "full close" in him. He is, to himself, sorrow personified, and yet (like the others in this particular scene) he realizes that his grief is but part of a greater sorrow. For this reason, he also "bears his part" or sings his line of music. Sorrow is the name of this scene, and each character in it must sing a different part, that is, lament a different loss. This particular passage, moreover, appears to be a parody of Shakespeare's Richard III,

II.ii.71-79. When one compares Marston's lines to Shakespeare's, it is self-evident that the inclusion of the musical allusions is purely a flourish added by Marston.

Besides using several different instruments in his stage-directions (for example, cornetts, flutes, citterns and recorders), Marston also uses many other instruments in the texts of his works. The most frequent allusions to both a musical instrument and its player in his plays are to "fiddles" and "fiddlers." On the whole, these allusions are pejorative, for Marston seems not to have been particularly fond of either the instrument or its players. In Antonio's Revenge, Maria asks the fool Balurdo for a song. He replies "My fiddlestick wants rosin" and then "Truly here's the most pathological rosen" (III.ii.33 & 44-45). Just prior to this, Balurdo has spoken a brief defence of his instrument in what is one of the more delightful passages in Marston's canon: "The Duke hath sent you the most musical Sir Jeffrey with his not base but most ennobled viol, to rock your baby thoughts in the cradle of sleep" (III.ii.20-22). (The play on the word "base," as the reader will have noted, distinguishes Balurdo's treble or alto viol from a viola de gamba.) It is unnecessary to list all of Marston's references to fiddles and fiddlers. A few typical examples of his usage should suffice for our purposes. In the address "In Lectores prorsus indignos" in The Scourge of Villainy, he welcomes those men whom he wishes to satirize: "Fidlers, Scriueners, pedlers, tynkering knaues, / Base blew-coats, tapsters, brod-cloth minded slaues" (97). It is significant that Marston names one of the rogues in Histrio-Mastix "Gutt," who claims that he is "the Fiddle-string-

maker" (III, 251). When the hypocritical and stupid Mulligrub desires some music to be played to calm his nerves in The Dutch Courtesan, he asks "Is there any fiddlers in the house?" (II.iii.108-09). The instrument is here denigrated simply by association: Mulligrub is far from being a noble or even honorable personality.

Marston may often have simply bad musicians in mind when he refers to "fiddlers." John Hollander shows that in the sixteenth century, especially in Puritan tracts attacking music, "confusions about instruments and their names were put to good use, so that any instrumentalist could become a 'fiddler' or a 'piper.'" ¹⁰³ Marston himself, moreover, occasionally uses in one passage different names for the same musical instrument. For example, in The Metamorphosis of Pigmaliions Image and Certaine Satyres, in a passage six lines in length, he substitutes "fiddle" for "violl" (67).

Most of the instruments mentioned by Marston need no explanation or comment. The context in which they occur establishes whether he is referring to them praisefully or perjoratively. Some of these instruments are: the bagpipes-- "As wenches trip a round, / About a May-pole, after bagpipes sound" (128); the cittern (or cithern, cithara)-- S.D. "Cantat saltatque cum cithera" ¹⁰⁴; the harp-- "A blind harper enters, craves audience, uncaseth, plays" ¹⁰⁵; the lute-- "bring Celias head out of the window with thy Lute" ¹⁰⁶; the pipe organ-- "I rail at thee, my worshipful organ-bellows that fills the pipes" ¹⁰⁷; the trumpet-- "The Trumpetter to Contemplation" ¹⁰⁸; drums-- "with trumpets and drums our play houses ringe in confusion" ¹⁰⁹; the viola-- "thou art like the Base Violl in a Consort . . . thou art still grumb-

ling"¹¹⁰; and the pipe and tabor [i.e., a three-holed recorder and small drum]--"tickle thy Pipe on the greene" and "I must go and clap my Tabers cheekes" [i.e., 'I must go and play the tabor'].¹¹¹

Other references to particular instruments in Marston's works need some type of explanation. For instance, in The Fawn, Donna Zoya states that because she is so happy she will "dance to mine own whistle" (II.i.383). This reference could be either to her own instrumentless whistling or to a "whistle," a small six-holed recorder. In The Dutch Courtesan, Malheureux listens to some birds singing (the stage-direction indicates "The nightingales sing") and comments upon their song. One wonders if these are live nightingales or a small imitative instrument called the "nightingale pipe" (II.i.63-78).¹¹² It would be rather difficult to get live birds to sing on cue, especially since the birds - as their name suggests - do not usually sing in daylight.

In two of Marston's plays and in what are probably the parts in Eastward Hoe that he wrote there are indications that he was acquainted with what has come to be known as the Lancashire Sol-fa. In his time, it was called the "Fasola." In the translation by John Dowland of Andreas Ornithoparcus His Micrologus . . . (1609), we read the following definition of the Fasola: "Solfaing is the orderly singing of euery Song by Musically Voyces, according as Mi and Fa shall require. For to Sol fa . . . is to expresse the Syllables, and the names of the Voyces."¹¹³ What this definition implies, in modern terms, is that "Solfaing" is the method of solmization (or singing a passage at sight by use of the sol-fa syllables) applied to the normal staff notation

of a musical scale. (I have been unable to ascertain why this method is called "solfa" instead of "fasol": the order of syllables suggests the latter, not the former, name.) In Marston's time, and even much earlier, there were different names for the notes of the scales. In a long didactic allegory usually attributed to him, John Lydgate (?1370 - ?1451) says: "Ut, Re, my, fa, sol, la; / These syllab[1]es sex yseth ['useth'] dame Musica."¹¹⁴ Thomas Morley uses the same names as Lydgate when he states that "there be in music but six notes, which are called Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La"¹¹⁵ In Elizabethan scales, the highest achievable note was E, and this note was usually named after the solfa syllable, "La."¹¹⁶ Marston was aware of this technical limit, and in Antonio and Mellida Balurdo states that "I have strained a note above E la for a device" (V.ii.106) in order to emphasize how diligently he has searched for the appropriate motto and crest for his arms. Morley further contributes to our understanding of this particular aspect of music when he speaks of "another kind of Balletts [songs which may be danced to] commonly called 'Fa las.'"¹¹⁷ That Marston was aware of the differences between ordinary songs and "Fa las" is amply demonstrated by the following exchange (previously cited in chapter two) in Jack Drum's Entertainment:

<u>Brabant:</u>	Gods pretious, I forgot to bring my Page, To breathe some Dittie on my Mistris eare.
<u>Planet:</u>	Wouldst have a Ballet to salute her with?
<u>Brabant:</u>	No, but a Song.

(III, 202)

The ungrateful Gertrude in Eastward Hoe uses some of the solfa mono-syllables in her speech. In singing excerpts from songs which she

The three important words in each of these passages are "Aristoxenus," "Lydian," and "mood." They suggest very strongly that Marston was acquainted with one of the most esoteric aspects of musical theory: the modes. Aristozenus was a classical musical theorist who is named along with Boethius and Ptolemaeus in the "Peroratio" of Morley's A Plaine and Easie Introduction . . . as "authorities" in music.¹¹⁸

The editor of Morley's work notes that Aristozenus held that there were thirteen modes in music.¹¹⁹ The name of one of these modes was "Lydius," and mode was in the seventeenth century often spelled "mood."¹²⁰

Before we proceed any further, we should try to understand what the modes were and what their effects upon both music and men were alleged to be. In the twentieth century, unfortunately, few critics are in agreement as to what this obsolete musical term signified. In speaking of it, Gretchen Ludke Finney says:

The spirit of music . . . reflects the mood or emotion of the planet by which it is especially influenced. Each heavenly body has the character of the god whose name it bears, and sounds a music that possesses his characteristics. The music of the sun was thought to be grave and earnest, that of Venus voluptuous, 'Saturn, Mars, and the Moon have only "voices"--no music.' These moods were imitated in the musical modes of man-made music.¹²¹

Professor Finney, however, fails to mention what effect these modes were supposed to have upon the hearer and how these effects were supposed to take place. John Hollander elaborates on these points:

Modality concerns the ability of certain musical configurations, or groups and orders of configurations, to elicit particular active or emotive responses in their hearers It was specifically in connection with melodies (and hence with scales or melodic species) that the various shades of psychic tension or laxity represented by the different sorts of ethos [which Hollander just prior to this equates

with "modes"] were supposed to operate. . . . ethos was a property of scales and melodies written in those scales (and not of the consonances, nor of the texts accompanying the melodies).¹²²

In Marston's day, also, there seems to have been some confusion about what exactly the modes and their effects were. Morley dismisses them by defining them as "a rule whereby the melody of every song is directed," a definition which is practically meaningless.¹²³ In The Praise of Musicke (1586), the anonymous author (usually said to be John Case) cites Macrobius as an authority when he gives the names and effects of the various classical modes:

Modus Dorius is a giuer of wisdom, and a causer of chastitie. Modus Phrygius prouoketh to fight, and maketh couragious. Aeolius quieteth the mind, & giueth sleepe to the pacified sēses. Lydius sharpneth dul wits, & to men oppressed with earthly cares, it bringeth a desire of heauenly things: being a wonderfull worker of good motiōs.¹²⁴

Case's own explanation of the modes, however, differs from that of his "authority" Macrobius:

Modus Dorius, beeing a graue and staied part of musicke, aunswereth to that which I called chaste and temperate. Modus Lydius used in comedies, in former times, being more lighter and wanton than Dorius, aunswereth to that which I termed amorous [sic] and delightsome. Modus Phrygius distracting the mind variably, also called Bacchicus for his great force & violence aunswereth to that which I called warlike. And Myxolydius most used in tragedies expressing in melodie those lamentable affections which are in tragedies represented, Melancholike and dolefull. As for those other, Hypodorius, Hypolydius, Hypophrygius, & Hypomyxolydius, there is no doubt, but that they being collaterall and assistants to these, moue such like affection as their principall.¹²⁵

The citations from this work have been deemed necessary because of their association of two modes, the Lydian and Myxolydian, with the two main forms of drama, comedy and tragedy. It does not appear to be a coin-

cidence, then, that Marston has one of his characters call for Lydian music at the end of a comedy. Moreover, this call for "Lydian" music reflects the transformation of Piero's character, and yet implies that this transformation cannot last. Piero's goodness is a temporary condition because Marston bases it largely upon the "Harmony" of the play's denouement and the actual sound of instrumental music. Harmony, however, is not a constant in man's life: the sounds of music soon cease. In this way, "Lydian" is a subtle explanation of the change in Piero's character which takes place in the first scene of Antonio's Revenge.

Marston may also have had knowledge of the "Phrygian" or "warlik" mode, but he does not name it in his canon. In the twentieth century no two things seem more unrelated than music and war. To Marston and his contemporaries, however, these two things were considered inseparable. War to them was the inevitable discord in the concord of the world's harmony, and music was a vital part of warfare's techniques. Speaking of this in The Schoole of Abuse, Stephen Gosson writes: "[Musical] instruments [are] used in battaile, not to ticcle the eare, but to teach euery souldier when to strike and when to stay, when to flye and when to followe."¹²⁶ In his most martial play, Sophonisba, Marston uses numerous stage-directions such as "Cornets sound a march" and "Cornets sound a charge." Many descriptions by the various characters of scenes of war involve musical references:

. . . slaughter ran throw us straight, we flie,
Romans pursue, but Scipio sounds retraite
 As fearing traines and night (II, 15)

Meane while weelee steepe our sinowie feet
 in blood
 And daunce unto the Musicke of the field,
 Trumpets for trebbles, bases, bellowing
 drummes.

(III, 285)

It appears that, for Marston, the trumpet was an instrument intimately connected with war. He names it only four times in his entire canon, and three of these times it is associated with war and death. Although this infrequent naming of an exceedingly common musical instrument may seem to be but a minor point, it is of importance because Marston is the only writer in his period who never uses a trumpet in any of his sound-effects or stage-directions. J.S. Manifold considers this point so striking that he mentions it three separate times in his work on the period, The Music in English Drama: From Shakespeare to Purcell.¹²⁷

Marston's almost musical, as opposed to dramatic, pre-occupation in some of his works raises the question as to whether or not he ever refers to himself as a musician. This question shall be the final topic of discussion in this chapter.

"Poetrie and pyping, haue alwayes been so united together, that til the time of Melanippides, Pipers were Poets hyerlings Poetry & Piping are Cosen germans."¹²⁸ In describing music, Sir John Davies calls it "the air's best speech."¹²⁹ George Puttenham writes that the poet "by his measures and concordes of sundry proportions doth counterfait the harmonical tunes of the vocall and instrumentall Musickes."¹³⁰ In a similar fashion, Samuel Daniel observes that English "verse . . . hath number, measure, and harmonie in the best pro-

portion of Musicke."¹³¹ Over and over again in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we see appearing statements similar to these. When the two arts are not directly linked, their creators are: the terms "poet" and "musician" are often interchangeable. Ornithoparcus observes that "Of them that professe the Art of Harmony, there be three kinds . . . the second is of Poets, who are led to the making of a verse, rather by a naturall instinct, than by speculation."¹³² Poetry is a natural music and poets are instinctive musicians.

It is in Marston's satires that we most clearly see his consciousness of himself as a writer-musician. In the "Proemium in librum tertium" of The Scourge of Villainy, he states that

I invoke no Delian Deitie [i.e., Apollo],

 I pray in ayde of no Castalian Muse,
 No Nimph, no femall Angell to infuse
 A sprightly wit to raise my flagging wings,
 And teach me tune these harsh discordant
 strings:
 I craue no Syrens of our Halcion times,
 To grace the accents of my rough-hew'd
 rimes.

(149)

Similarly, in the address "Ad Rithmum" in this same work, we read:

Come prettie pleasing symphonie of words,
 Yee wel-match'd twins (whose like-tun'd
 tongs [i.e., tongues] affords
 Such musicall delight,) come willingly
 And daunce Leuoltoes in my poesie.
 Come all as easie . . .
 . . . as wenches trip a round,
 Come riming numbers, come and grace conceite,
 Adding a pleasing close, with your deceit
 Inticing eares . . .
 . . . Come like-fac'd rime,
 In tuneful numbers keeping musicks time.

. . . for know my libertie
 Scornes riming lawes
 (128-129)

The numerous musical allusions in this passage leave no doubt concerning the interchangeability of both poetry and music, the poet and the musician.

In describing himself as a musician, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poet often emulated the greatest mythological musician in the Western consciousness, Orpheus. It was no coincidence that the father of Orpheus, Apollo, was the god of music and poetry (note Marston's mention of Apollo above, p. 149), and his mother, Calliope, was the Muse of epic poetry. Orphean music was regarded, in almost allegorical terms, as a figure of eloquent discourse. We can readily observe this in a gloss to a 1525 edition of John Walton's fifteenth-century verse translation of Boethius' De Consolatione, Book III,

Metrum xii:

By Orpheus ys understand the hyer part of
 the soule / that ys resonabeltye [sic]
 enformed with wysdom and eloquence. Thys
 Orpheus by the swetnesse of hys harpe /
 that ys to say bestly men and savage
 broght into the rule of reason.¹³³

By comparing himself to Orpheus, then, a poet might imply that his work contained both "wysdom and eloquence." Orpheus' voice, moreover, was regarded as being exceptionally clear. William Kempe (not the 'Will Kempe' of Morris Dance fame) illustrates how Orpheus could also be considered as the ideal writer or rhetorician when he speaks of "Orpheus with his cunning harmonie . . . his sweet eloquence."¹³⁴

Speaking of this association of Orpheus with eloquence, John Hollander concludes that

Orpheus himself . . . always stood for the ideal and model of the poet-musician. The art of Orpheus and his instrument, that object of the hatred of his frenzied destroyers, were always taken, in an unbroken tradition from Classic times on, as representations of eloquence. This figurative notion of eloquence, effective utterance in the abstract, always clung to allusions to and moralizations about the Thracian hero.¹³⁵

In two of his works, while speaking of the tasks of a poet, possibly himself, Marston names this classical figure. Satire XI of The Scourge of Villainy contains one of these usages, and interestingly enough Marston denies that he is an "Orpheus":

I haue no Artists skill in simphonies,
Yet when some pleasing Diapason flies
From out the belly of a sweet couch'd Lute,
My eares dares say tis good, or when they sute
Some harsher seauens for varietie,
My natiue skill discernes it presently.
What then? Will any sottish dolt repute
Or euer thinke me Orpheus absolute?
Shall all the world of Fidlers follow me,
Relying on my voyce in musickrie?
(171)

This passage is also an excellent example of Marston's use of a musical vocabulary. The second example is to be found in Satire V of Certaine Satyres. The example's context suggests that Orpheus is a pseudonym for Marston or for his persona, the satirist:

But if poore Orpheus sing melodiously,
And striue with musicks sweetest symphonie
To praise the Gods, and vnaduisedly
Doe but ore-slip one drunken Deitie,
Forthwith the bouzing Bacchus out doth send
His furious Bacchides, to be reueng'd.
And straight they teare the sweet Musition,
And leaue him to the dogs diuision.
(90)

This practice of speaking of himself as a musician, and, on rare occasions, of actually assuming the pseudonym, "Orpheus," must be considered the finale in this study of Marston and music. The following and final chapter contains a brief comparison of his use of musical allusions with the usage of Shakespeare and the conclusions derived from this study of his use of music.

CHAPTER IV

A COMPARISON OF MARSTON AND SHAKESPEARE; CONCLUSION

No really comprehensive study has ever been published on the use of musical allusions in the plays of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. Individual authors (especially Shakespeare) have had this strain of allusion in their works commented upon and analysed, but other writers have largely been neglected in this respect. It is apparent, however, that in order to properly assess Marston's achievement in this area of literary creation, some comparisons must be made. The best choice for a comparison is Marston's contemporary, Shakespeare, whose plays, of the hundreds written at this time, are generally believed to contain the most extensive and accurate references to all types of specialized knowledge.

For the purposes of comparison, this thesis contains two appendices: the first is a glossary-index of all the recognizable musical allusions in Marston's entire canon (not just the plays and satires); the second is a list of musical allusions in an objective selection of ten plays by Shakespeare. The criteria for selecting these allusions in the works of Marston and Shakespeare have been the same. Only the nine plays of Marston's certain authorship plus The Insatiate Countess will be compared with Shakespeare's ten plays.

Although Marston and Shakespeare use musical allusions in different ways and have differing musical vocabularies (and this difference in usage and vocabularies is to be expected), it is most interesting to compare the extent of their usages of some common and simple musical terms. The following list is a selection of such terms observed to occur in both appendices:

	<u>Marston</u>	<u>Shakespeare</u>
accord	2	1
bass viol	1	1
close	6	1
concord	3	1
discord	3	9
division	3	1
fiddle/fiddler	8	-
harmony	4	2
instrument	7	4
lute	3	3
music	72	24
musician	2	3
music of the spheres	8	2
note	6	8
part	4	1
pipe	4	6
sing	45	46
song	14	18
sound	21	16
strain	7	1
tune	7	14
voice	11	9
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	241	171

Of these twenty-two musical terms in the ten plays by each of them, Marston uses thirteen more frequently than Shakespeare, Shakespeare seven more frequently than Marston, and both dramatists use two terms, 'base viol' and 'lute,' the same number of times. As well as using the word 'music' three times more frequently than Shakespeare, Marston

also uses technical terms such as 'close,' 'division' and 'part' more often than he does.

To draw any critical conclusions from these figures would naturally be most presumptuous. What these figures do accomplish, however, is the partial refutation of statements such as the following: "in no author are musical allusions more frequent than in Shakespeare"¹³⁶ and "in this respect [the usage of musical allusions] Shakespeare is far in advance of his contemporaries."¹³⁷ The use to which Shakespeare puts his knowledge of music is undoubtedly unique; the extent of Shakespeare's knowledge of music, his musical vocabulary, though, may not be as singular as has heretofore been believed.

We have seen how Marston uses music; Shakespeare uses almost all of Marston's types of allusions. Rarely do his plays deal as centrally with lust as do Marston's, however, and when they do, this musical strain of language is often not present. To Shakespeare, moreover, it seems that music is primarily a soothing, romantic, and highly civilizing force, and his employment of musical allusions reflects these beliefs. Rather surprisingly, 'discord' (as one can see from the list on the previous page) appears to have been more important to him than to Marston; that is, Shakespeare seems to observe this element of music in more aspects of life than does Marston. Most appropriate here, I think, would be Caroline Spurgeon's remarks about Shakespeare:

He associates the purest emotion and the most spiritual condition known to man with music and with harmony He definitely thinks of happy human love as music . . .

.
We are justified in concluding that as in Shakespeare's imagination heaven is hushed stillness with 'touches of sweete harmony', and hell

is a place of noisy strife, discord and clamour, he very much loved the one and hated the other.¹³⁸

Professor Spurgeon's remarks are most perceptive (and based on a much more comprehensive imagery study than this thesis) and illustrate the primary difference between the usages by Shakespeare and Marston of musical allusions. Marston also associates the purest emotion with music and thinks of "happy human love" as music, but he seems to both accept and examine in more detail, even in his comedies, the presence of discord and strife, of harsh revenge and lust, of ugliness of all kinds more frequently than does Shakespeare. Because his allusions are, thus, less frequently associated with light and frivolous subjects (such as A Midsummer Night's Dream) than are Shakespeare's, one can legitimately suggest that Marston's usages of musical allusions are almost sinister (or overshadowed by sinister qualities) compared with Shakespeare's. Edward W. Naylor, author of the standard work on Shakespeare's knowledge of music, confirms this suggestion when he says of Shakespeare that his "musical references . . . are most commonly found in the comedies, and are generally the occasion or instrument of word-quibbling and witticisms" ¹³⁹ As we have seen, Marston makes more extensive use of musical allusions in his tragedies.

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To sum up, then, we can say that Elizabethan musical vocabulary is very rich, and that Marston uses it for every kind of allusion, image, and joke. The numerous technical terms of this art provide sources for puns, quibbles, and double entendres. Indeed, much of the wit in Marston's satires and plays consists of puns and tropes on technical language

and terminology. This large number of technical allusions to music in his canon, however, does not prove that Marston himself was a musician. Nothing in his works suggests that he could play any instrument. What this number of allusions does suggest, though, is that music had a most adaptable vocabulary (although we, in the twentieth century, may no longer be familiar with it), and that many Elizabethans seem to have understood it. The evidence we can find of both interest in and knowledge of music in Marston's canon, moreover, would seem to be a professional necessity for him as a writer for theatres which, as we know, made extensive use of music and song. This may not necessarily have been the source, though, of his interest and knowledge.

The allusions to music in Marston, however, indicate more than a passing fondness for music. In both their range and casual and subtle usage they are not paralleled by any other body of knowledge in his canon. Many of the musical subjects and metaphors that he uses, as in What You Will and Histrion-Mastix, are of a more or less conventional quality. By and large, the bulk of the allusions is to man-made music which is named, satirized, compared and praised in various contexts (for instance, in Jack Drum's Entertainment) like any other human activity. Marston's mastery of musical technique is founded, it seems, on his appreciation of the theatrical and dramatic worth of music. His knowledge of musical technique, moreover, demonstrates his understanding of how well the dramatic art which he practiced was suited to musical embellishment. Certain comments in his works not only emphasize the importance of song and instrumental music in Marston's theatre but also indicate the compelling values then attached to the

powers of music. Sometimes when action and music appear to be light-hearted, then, the musical allusions suggest, as at the denouement of Antonio and Mellida, a more somber, even a sinister mood. Moreover, in the two Antonio plays, The Insatiate Countess, and Sophonisba, Marston uses allusions to music to subtly imply that the personality of an individual (Antonio, Isabella and Syphax, specifically) is a function not of the proportions of humours within him, but of the appetites that may more intentionally, as well as practically, be said to govern his behaviour.

In conclusion, the use of even a logic apparently based on music in the actual plots of some of Marston's plays, the amazingly subtle mention of music's several forms, and the conclusions implied as to the nature and effects of music result in some musical speculation that remains one of Marston's previously unnoticed accomplishments. If we find it difficult nowadays to appreciate his allusions to the many supposed powers of music, we forget that music has always been an art which affects humankind's most intense feelings. Emotions in the works of Marston often find complete realization, then, in terms of music rather than by working through mental association with music. Moreover, if the music of the universe, of the world, of the state, of the court, of the body and soul of man can mirror man-made music and be detected in it, Elizabethan music can honestly be said to offer more than pleasure to the ear, more than simple emotional enjoyment. As utilized by Marston in allusions, music offers to the intellect a knowledge of truth that can be metaphorically perceived by the senses. In examining in detail the speculative and practical ideas which create

this Elizabethan 'knowledge of truth,' hopefully this thesis has demonstrated to the reader that it is indeed most profitable to consider the influence of music in the works of John Marston.

APPENDIX A

A GLOSSARY-INDEX OF MUSICAL ALLUSIONS IN MARSTON'S CANON

Key to abbreviations:

Meta	=	<u>The Metamorphosis of Pigmaliions Image and Certaine Satyres</u> (1598)
SV	=	<u>The Scourge of Villainy</u> (1598)
HM	=	<u>Histrion-Mastix, or The Player Whipped</u> (1599)
JDE	=	<u>Jack Drum's Entertainment</u> (1600)
AM	=	<u>Antonio and Mellida</u> (1600)
AR	=	<u>Antonio's Revenge</u> (1601)
WYW	=	<u>What You Will</u> (1601-02?)
IC	=	<u>The Insatiate Countess</u> (1601/1602) [my dating]
Malc	=	<u>The Malcontent</u> (1603)
Fawn	=	<u>Parasitaster, or The Fawne</u> (1604)
DC	=	<u>The Dutch Courtesan</u> (1605)
EH	=	<u>Eastward Hoe</u> (1604-05)
Soph	=	<u>The Wonder of Women, or The Tragedie of Sophonisba</u> (1605-06)
Sej	=	"On Jonson's <u>Sejanus</u> " (1605)
Poems	=	Four poems in Chester's <u>Love's Martyr</u> (1601)
Spec	=	The Latin speeches for the "City Pageant," 31 July 1606
EA	=	"The Entertainment at Ashby," August 1607

Note: The above dates are the approximate dates of composition, not of publication.¹⁴⁰

Accent	n.	A stressed tone: AM V.ii.252; AR I.ii.181.
Accord	n.	A synonym for 'concord': AM V.ii.252; AR III.i.160.
Apollo	n.	Phoebus Apollo, Roman god of music and poetry and leader of the Muses; in Marston, the 'God of Musicke': JDE 198; WYW 273; Soph 7, 12, 36; EA 199, 204.
Aristoxenus		A classical musical theorist: WYW 258.
Ayre	n.	A form of madrigal: AR I.ii.149; IC 48.

- Bacchus n. The Roman god of wine; in Marston represented as being interested in music and enjoying singing: Meta 90; HM 266, 300; AR V.iii.20.
- Bagpipe n. A musical instrument consisting of an airtight wind-bag and one or more reed-pipes into which the air is pressed by the performer: SV 128.
- Ballet n. An ayre-like madrigal, with a dance lilt and a 'fa-la' refrain, often danced to by the singers: JDE 202; IC 77.
- Bass n. The lowest voice in choral/polyphonic singing or instrumental parts in harmony; a 'ground bass' or a short bass phrase repeated many times with varied upper parts [see also 'ground']: HM 285; AR III.ii.21.
- Bass viol. n. A 'viola de gamba': IC 16.
- Bear v. To sing or play, usually with 'part' or 'burden': JDE 211; AR II.ii.73; Malc I.viii.2; DC III.iii.145.
- Bell n. As producing a musical tone: AM IV.i.142; IC 66.
- Bow n. A 'scraping sticke'; a rod having horsehair drawn tightly between its two raised ends, used in playing viols, violins, etc.: Meta 68.
- Brawl n. A rustic round-dance of French origin at one time carried out to the singing of the dancers: JDE 234; Malc IV.ii.3, 4.
- Brawling adj. From 'brawl' (q.v.): HM 257.
- Break a note v. To interrupt the prolongation of a single note in singing: AM IV.i.155.
- Breath n. A song or melody: JDE 236; AR I.ii.148, 154, V.iii.32, 43; WYW 240 (2); IC 48; DC II.i.67; EA 200.
- Breathe v. To sing: JDE 195, 202, 211; AM IV.i.140, 144; IC 47, 48; Malc I.ii.1.
- Breve n. ('Brief') A Note with the value of two whole notes: AM II.i.45.
- Burden n ('Burthen') A refrain; the bass line of a song: JDE 211; Malc I.viii.2.

- Canzonet n. A short instrumental composition: HM 255.
- Carol v. To sing: DC II.i.65.
- Castalian adj. From 'Castalia,' a nymph loved by Apollo (q.v.): SV 149.
- Cheek n. A synonym for drum-skin: JDE 211, 220.
- Clap v. To play a drum, especially a 'tabor' (q.v.): JDE 211, 220
- Close n. The ending of a composition, section, or phrase; a cadence: SV 128; JDE 198; AR III.i.141, 158, IV.i.203, II.ii.69; Malc III.iv.30.
- Composer n. A Writer of music: WYW 232, 233.
- Concord n. A combination of notes pleasant to the ear, requiring no resolution, and roughly synonymous with 'harmony': Spec 196; HM 248, 269, 296.
- Consort v. To keep company with: HM 295; WYW 247; Malc IV. iii.102; DC I.i.13.
- Cornett n. An obsolete wind instrument, merely a wooden tube, usually leather-covered (to be differentiated from the modern 'cornet,' a trumpet-like instrument): AR I.ii.153, 180; WYW 287, 294; IC 76; Malc V.iii. 95, V.v.42; EA 192, 202.
- Courante n. A rapid dance to music in triple time which, in classical suites, follows the galliard ('corrente,' 'coranto,' 'caranto'): EA 204.
- Cracked adj. Harsh, dissonant, discordant: AR IV.ii.90, 91, 93.
- Crotchet n. A quarter-note, also a whimsical notion: Malc III. iv.30.
- Delian adj. Of or pertaining to Phoebus Apollo (q.v.), from his birthplace, Delos: SV 149.
- Descant n. A part extemporized by a singer to a non-extemporized part sung by another singer: AM II.i.45, 162.

- Diapason n. The combination of sounds produced by a song for several voices or a group of musical instruments; sounds produced by plucking two strings in unison on one instrument; a low-pitched musical tone; a bass-string; the ground-bass of a polyphonic piece of music: SV 171.
- Dirge n. A funeral hymn or lament: AR IV.ii.88.
- Disagreeing adj. A synonym for discordant: JDE 235.
- Discord n. A want of harmony between two or more notes; dissonance: AM V.ii.251; Malc I.ii.2, I.iv.38.
- Discordant adj. A synonym for 'dissonant': SV 149; HM 253.
- Ditty n. A simple but often solemn song: JDE 202; WYW 240; AR II.ii.130, III.ii.26; EA 206.
- Ditty v. To sing simply but solemnly: AR II.i.87.
- Division n. The breaking up a melody into many short notes: Meta 90; AM III.i.107, V.ii.21.
- Drum n. A percussion instrument: HM 285, 257, 266; JDE 205 (2); Soph 16.
- Drummer n. A recruit gatherer who plays a drum: Fawn IV.i.30.
- E la The highest note in the musical scale: AM V.ii.106.
- Enchant v. To produce ecstasy through music: JDE 211, 240; IC 48; EA ('inchauntres') 193.
- Extempore,
to sing To sing 'descant' (q.v.) or musically improvize: HM 265.
- Faculty n. Meaning unknown, but of a musical sense; possibly alludes to a method of playing an instrument: HM 248.
- Fiddle n. A violin: used pejoratively as the instrument played by any musician of little training or talent: Meta 67; JDE 181; AR III.ii.25.
- Fiddler n. A pejorative name: SV 97, 171; AR I.ii.36; WYW 282 (3); Malc I.viii.48; DC II.iii.109.
- Fiddle stick n. A 'bow' (q.v.): AM V.ii.29; AR III.ii.33; WYW 264.
- Fiddle string n. HM 251.

- Flourish n. A trumpet call of the fanfare type: AM I.i.91.
- Flute n. A wind instrument, blown through a mouthpiece at the end, consisting of a hollow cylinder or pipe with holes along its length: DC II.iii.62.
- Full adj. Describing music made by several instruments of the same type; synonym for 'whole' in a whole consort: EA 192; Sej 181.
- Galliard n. A gay five-step dance to music in triple time: JDE 234; EA 204.
- Glory of her sex (Or slight variation of this phrase) An expression of praise for a lady, usually combined with 'sweet' (q.v.): EA 195; Fawn IV.i.389-90; Soph 45.
- Grace v. To decorate melodiously or harmoniously: SV 128.
- Graceful adj. (Or 'gracious') Harmonious: Sej 181; EA 199, 204, 205.
- Ground n. A short bass phrase repeated many times with varied upper parts: AM II.i.162; IC 12.
- Gut n. Used as string for musical instrument: HM 251; WYW 264.
- Harmonious adj. Of pleasant sounds: JDE 240, 236; IC 48; EA 200.
- Harmony n. A combination of notes producing a pleasing effect: HM 252.
- Harp n. (a) the lyre of classical mythology: EA 204; Soph 7.
(b) a small stringed instrument: AM V.ii.6, 21, 28.
- Harper n. A harpist: DC I.i.18.
- Harsh adj. A synonym for 'discordant': SV 171; AM V.ii.252.
- Hornpipe n. A dance in simple triple time, accompanied by a hornpipe or wooden pipe with a reed mouthpiece and, at the other end, a horn as 'bell': AR I.ii.36.
- Hymn n. A song of praise, not necessarily sacred: HM 300; AR V.iii.171; IC 76; Soph 48, 49.

- Instrument n. A musical instrument; has bawdy connotation of male genitalia: Meta 67; JDE 209 (a self-playing organ-cum-carillon?); AM V.ii.134; AR I.ii.300; IC 16, 73; Malc I.viii.3; DC I.i.14.
- Jar v. To be discordant: AR IV.ii.93.
- Jarring adj. Discordant: AM II.i.192.
- Jig n. A light and lively rustic dance or the music of such a dance: JDE 193.
- Kemp's Morris n. Will Kemp, a clown, wagered that he could dance from London to Norwich; the dance lasted from 10 Feb. to 9 Mar. 1600 (see 'morris'): JDE 182.
- Knock v. To strike up, to begin to play or sound vigorously: AM II.i.49, V.ii.21.
- Lark n. The melodious song-bird: JDE 237; IC 36.
- Lavolta n. A quick dance to music in triple time, probably derived from the galliard; the name suggests the turning around which is one of the motions of the dance: SV 128; AR V.iii.22; EA 204.
- Lute n. A stringed musical instrument, in shape something like a half-pear with its stalk, the stalk representing the finger-board which is fretted: SV 171; WYW 239, 240; DC I.ii.85.
- Lydian adj. Pertaining to one of the classical 'modes' of music (see 'mood'): AM V.ii.262.
- Lyre n. Essentially a small harp; the name is also loosely applied to other stringed instruments: JDE 198.
- Make v. To compose either vocal or instrumental music 'extempore' (q.v.): AM IV.i.142.
- Mean adj. Pertaining to a counter-tenor voice: AM V.ii.19.
- Measure n. (a) a dance, often to solemn music: AR V.iii.44; DC II.iii.61; EA 203, 204 (2).
(b) musical rhythm, a synonym for: AM II.i.193.
- Melodious adj. Concordant or harmonious; beautiful sounding; well-sung or played: Meta 90; Malc V.ii.8.
- Melody n. Meaning 'music': Soph 49.

- Mercurian adj. From 'Mercury' (q.v.), meaning eloquent or harmonious: EA 202.
- Mercury n. The Roman god of commerce and trade, used by Marston as the ideal poet-singer, and the inventor of the lyre: Meta 67; IC 47; Malc V.vi. 53; Soph 36, 38; EA 201, 202.
- Minikin n. A person or instrument with a shrill and high-pitched voice or sound: WYW 282; AM V.ii.10.
- Mood n. The Greek scale of eight tones and, hence, a melody or tune (same as 'mode'): HM 248.
- Morris n. A type of English folk-dance for men in which the dancers wear bells on their ankles: JDE 182.
- Music n. Spec 186; EA 200, 201; Meta 85, 90; SV 128, 171; HM 248, 249, 252 (2), 276, 285; WYW 232, 252, 258, 259; JDE 197, 198 (2), 206, 209, 228, 234, 235, 236, 240; IC 12, 23 (2), 26, 36, 42, 47, 48; AM Induction (1. 1), II.i.154, 161, 191, III.i.108, IV.i.173, V.ii.1, 5; AR I.iii.61, 300, 339, III.i.159, III.ii. 84, IV.i.322, IV.ii.94, V.iii.43; Malc I.ii.1, 2, II.iv.51, III.ii.38, IV.ii.1, 13, 15, 17, 27, IV. iii.2, -3, IV.v.13, V.iv.55, V.v.9; Fawn I.ii.97, IV.i.388, V.i.119; DC I.i.131, II.i.8, III.iii. 147, 149, IV.v.126, V.i.63, V.ii.29; Soph 38, 48, 50, 64.
- Musician n. An instrumentalist, singer, composer, writer: Meta 90; WYW 240, 264.
- Musickrie n. The art of music, a word unique to Marston (OED cites only this example): SV 171.
- Music of the
Spheres A synonym for Musica mundana: EA 200, 203; HM 252; JDE 179 (2); AR III.i.158; WYW 248; IC 23, 47; DC II.i.67.
- Nightingale n. A song-bird: DC I.ii.12, 14, 16, 18; II.i.64.
- Nimble adj. Having a deft and light musical touch: WYW 264, 273.
- Noise n. A band of musicians, or a musical sound: EA 192; DC II.iii.62, 110.
- Note n. A musical tone: JDE 195; AM IV.i.140, V.ii.106; AR V.iii.19; WYW 240; IC 48.
- Number n. Mathematical element (rhythm) in music: SV128.

- Oboe n. A wooden double-reed instrument of high pitch ('Hoboye,' 'hautboy'): EA 198.
- Organ n. A pipe-organ, a synonym for 'voice' (q.v.): JDE 191.
- Organ bellows n. That which feeds air to the pipes of an organ: DC I.ii.20.
- Orpheus n. A classical singer, the son of the Muse Calliope and the god Apollo (q.v.), used by Marston as an ideal poet-singer; a voice of eloquence and harmony: Meta 85, 90; SV 171; JDE 198; WYW 239.
- Paeon n. A hymn, usually to Apollo (q.v.): EA 199; Poems 177; HM 301; JDE 197.
- Part n. The melody given to one voice in a concerted piece of music: JDE 228, 235; AR II.ii.73; DC III.iii.145.
- Phoebus Phoebus Apollo (q.v.): Sej 181; EA 205 (2); Poems 177; Soph 50.
- Pipe n. A three-holed recorder played with one hand, the other hand usually beating a tabor (q.v.); organ pipes: JDE 181 (2); WYW 290; DC I.ii.21.
- Play v. To produce music: EA 196; JDE 209, 228; Malc I. viii.3; DC II.iii.62, 111.
- Point n. A phrase, such as a fugue subject in contrapuntal music: AM IV.i.144.
- Pricked adj. Music composed and written down ('pricksong', q.v.): AM V.ii.108.
- Pricksong n. Music composed and written down: IC 12.
- Proportion n. Harmony or the absence of discord; the relation of two notes in respect of duration, determining the rhythm of a composition: EA 199, 200; HM 296; Soph 41.
- Quill n. A shepherd's pipe or simple recorder/flute: Meta 85.
- Rapture n. The ecstasy produced by music: Poems 177; IC 42; HM 248; WYW 290.

- Renaldo, Signior ?Giulio Renaldi (c.1500 - c.1570), an Italian composer of madrigals: AR I.ii.149.
- Resounding n. A re-echoing, as in contrapuntal music: Soph 7.
- Ring v. To 'sound' (q.v.), as of vibrating metal: IC 66; Soph 50.
- Rosin n. A resin used to increase sliding friction on the bows of certain stringed instruments: AR III.ii.33, 45.
- Round n. A simple dance, usually with accompanying song: SV 128.
- Ruled adj. Marked with the straight parallel lines of a musical staff: AM V.ii.107.
- Run a note v. To prolong one syllable in music: AM IV.i.155; WYW 252.
- Sevens n. A seventh, or chord of the seventh; a fundamental discord: SV 171.
- Shrill adj. High-pitched: HM 255; JDE 191.
- Sigh v. To lament in song: AR II.ii.73.
- Sigher n. One who laments in song: AR IV.i.321.
- Sighing adj. Lamenting in song: HM 250.
- Sing EA 203, 205, 206 (2); Meta 82, 85, 90; Hm 300, 301 (2), 250, 265; Am II.136, III.i.104, IV.i.139, 148, 153, 157; AR I.ii.149, 151, IV.ii.88, V.ii.13, 15, V.iii.31, 32, 174; WYW 240 (2), 248 (2), 249, 252, 256 (3), 273 (2), 253; IC 36, 48, 76; Malc I.ii.29, I.vii.1, 2, III.iv.28, 29, 34, 35; EH 97; DC II.ii.54; Soph 27, 48, 49.
- Singing Book n. A book containing 'pricksongs' (q.v.): AM V.ii.107.
- Siren n. A mythological creature with a body like a bird and a head like a woman: sirens lived on an island and with their bewitching song irresistably lured passing sailors to the coast, where they suffered shipwreck and death; an example of the harmful powers of music in Marston's canon: JDE 228; IC 31; DC I.ii.104, 110.

Sirenical	adj.	Pertaining to the songs of a 'siren' (q.v.): Malc III.iv.27.
Skill, native		The 'naturall instinct' of the poet-as-musician [see Dowland, sigs. c2 ^r - c2 ^v]: SV 171.
Song		EA 203, 204; Meta 85; HM 252; JDE 202, 234; AM II.i.36, 47; AR II.i.86, III.ii.43, IV.ii.89; WYW 252; IC 73; Malc III.iv.25, 29, V.vi.58; EH 95; DC II.ii.54.
Sonnet	n.	A song: DC II.i.66.
Sound	n.	A synonym for 'music': JDE 228, 235; AM III.i.80; AR V.iii.175, II.ii.70; Soph 36, 48, 58.
Sound	v.	To play an instrument and produce music: Spec 186; EA 200 (2), 205; SV 128; JDE 205, 206, 234, 235, 236; AM II.i.154, 161, V.ii.134, 251; AR IV.i.322; WYW 259, 290; IC 23; Malc IV.ii.27 (2); Soph 15, 25, 54 (4).
Squeak	v.	To make a brief, thin high-pitched sound: JDE 191.
Squeaking	adj.	Making a brief, thin high-pitched sound: JDE 228; WYW 264.
Strain	n.	A melody: HM 248; AM II.i.193, IV.i.142; AR III.i.142, IV.i.203; WYW 290 (2).
Strain	v.	To sing or play melodiously: AM V.ii.5, 106; AR I.ii.181, 300, IV.i.316.
Strike	v.	To play or sing music: AM III.i.107, III.ii.34; AR III.i.159; IC 42; Soph 7, 16, 49.
String	n.	Vibrating cord or wire of a musical instrument: SV 149; AR IV.i.92; WYW 273; IC 32; Soph 38.
Stroke	n.	A sound produced by playing an instrument: JDE 181.
Sweet	adj.	'Concordant': EA 195, 201; Poems 178; Meta 82, 85, 90 (2); SV 171; JDE 181, 195, 198, 211, 235; WYW 239, 256, 280; IC 31; Malc III.ii.38; Fawn IV.i.388; DC V.i.62, V.ii.29; Soph 48 (2).
Sweet	n.	A synonym for 'concord': JDE 236; WYW 283; AM IV.i.174.
Sweet	v.	To make concordant: AR III.i.160, IV.i.317.

Sweetness	n.	Concord: AM II.i.192.
Symphony	n.	From the Greek, meaning a concord of two sounds: hence, in Marston, musical concord in general: Meta 90; SV 128, 171; HM 171; JDE 235; AR IV.ii.92.
Tabor	n.	A small drum: JDE 220; WYW 249, 274.
Time	n.	Musical rhythm: SV 128; AM II.i.193.
Tone	n.	A musical sound: AR I.ii.340, III.i.158; IC 47; Soph 49; WYW 248.
Tongue	n.	Referring to either song or speech: EA 193, 201 ('sweet-tongu'd'); SV 128; HM 301; IC 32; Soph 38.
Touch	n.	The act of playing a musical instrument with the hand: JDE 181; WYW 239; AM III.ii.34; AR I.ii.301.
Touch	v.	To play a musical instrument: SV 171; WYW 273; Soph 38.
Tread	v.	(see 'trip'): EA 204.
Treble	n.	The highest voice in choral singing or instrumental part in harmony: HM 285; JDE 191; WYW 256; AM V.i.33.
Trip	v.	To step lightly and nimbly in a dance to music: EA 204; SV 128.
Trumpet	n.	A metal wind-instrument: HM 285, 266; AM III.i.80.
Trumpeter	n.	A trumpet-player: HM 296.
Tune	n.	A melody; concord: WYW 240; IC 23, 77; AR III.ii.28, IV.ii.89, 93, V.iii.171.
Tune	v.	To make musically concordant: SV 149.
Tuned	adj.	Synonym for 'pitched', used with 'shrill': HM 255; IC 32.
Tuneful	adj.	Synonym for 'concordant': SV 128.
Unicorn	n.	The mythological creature, as singing at the time of its death: AR V.ii.13-14.
Union	n.	A synonym for 'harmony' and the same as 'unity': JDE 235.

United	adj.	A synonym for 'harmonious': JDE 235.
Unity	n.	A synonym for 'harmony': HM 296.
Variety	n.	Used with 'discord': a source of relief from a series of perfect concords or as a preparation for perfect concords: SV 171; Malc III.iv.30.
Viol	n.	An old instrument of the violin class having from 3 to 10 strings and of several sizes (from the smallest, the treble or descant viol, to the tenor and alto viols, to the largest, the bass viol or 'viola de gamba'): Meta 68; JDE 228; AR III.ii.21.
Viola de gamba	n.	A 'bass viol' or violoncello; similar to a lute in tuning, and hence playable by most lutenists: Meta 67.
Violin	n.	A stringed instrument played with a bow, having a shallower body than a viol: EA 203.
Voice	n.	As employed in song: AM III.ii.34, IV.i.137, V.ii.5; AR III.ii.48, IV.ii.90, 93; Malc III.iv.25, 26; DC I.ii.104, 110.
Voice	n.	One of the parts in a work of harmony: EA 206; SV 171; DC II.i.8.
Warble	v.	A synonym for 'to sing': HM 301; Am III.ii.33.
Whistle	n.	A small six-holed recorder: AM V.ii.31; Fawn II.i.383.
Wind	v.	To play a wind-instrument: EA 192, 202; WYW 287, 294; AR I.ii.153, IV.i.316.
Wire	n.	A string or cord on a musical instrument: WYW 290.

APPENDIX B

A GLOSSARY-INDEX OF MUSICAL ALLUSIONS
IN TEN PLAYS BY SHAKESPEARE

This is a list of musical allusions in an objective selection of ten plays by Shakespeare. This list demonstrates that the usages of Marston and Shakespeare are, as is to be expected, quite different. It also demonstrates that in number alone Marston's usage of musical allusions is equal to, if not greater than, Shakespeare's usage in ten plays.

The plays by Shakespeare used in this comparison are the first ten in an alphabetical and hence unstructured listing of his dramatic works. When superfluous words such as "The," "An," "The Tragedy of," or "The History of" are omitted from the titles where necessary we obtain the following list (with the abbreviations to be used in this study).

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| 1. AWTEW = <u>All's Well That Ends Well</u>
(1602-1603) | 6. Cym = <u>Cymbeline</u>
(1609-1610) |
| 2. A&C = <u>Antony and Cleopatra</u>
(1606-1607) | 7. Ham = <u>Hamlet</u>
(1600-1601) |
| 3. AYLI = <u>As You Like It</u>
(1599-1600) | 8. Hiv = <u>1 Henry IV</u>
(1597-1598) |
| 4. CE = <u>Comedy of Errors</u>
(1592-1593) | 9. Hv = <u>Henry V</u>
(1598-1599) |
| 5. Cor = <u>Coriolanus</u>
(1607-1608) | 10. Hvi = <u>1 Henry VI</u>
(1591-1592) |

Note: The above dates are the approximate dates of composition, not of publication.¹⁴¹

As the reader will note, this selection of Shakespeare's plays coincidentally covers the full range of his career in both time and genre.

My guides in compiling this list of musical allusions have been my own list of allusions in Marston's canon and C.T. Onions' "A Select Glossary of Musical Terms with Illustrative Passages from Shakespeare's Works" in Shakespeare's England.

My method of procedure in compiling this list has been to combine Onions' Glossary with my own, and then to search for the presence of these musical allusions in the above ten plays, using Bartlett's Concordance ... as my source.

In almost all cases, I give the precise location (as listed by Bartlett) of various allusions in Shakespeare's ten plays. Where the listing in detail of various common allusions would be redundant, I have substituted the quantity of these allusions in a particular play, not noting their whereabouts. Words defined previously in Appendix A are in Appendix B marked with an asterisk; if not present in Appendix A, words are accompanied by a brief explanatory note.

- * Accord n. Ham I.ii.123.
- Air n. A melody or tune: Cym II.iii.19.
- * Bagpipe n. Hiv I.ii.85.
- Ballad n. A song: AYLI II.vii.148; Hiv II.ii.48; A&C V.ii.216.
- Base-string n. A string of the lowest pitch: Hiv II.iv.6.
- * Bass viol n. CE IV.iii.23.
- * Bear a part AYLI II.iv.11.
- Beat [a drum] Cor V.vi.151.
- * Bell n. CE IV.ii.53; AYLI II.vii.114, 121; Hvi I.vi.11, IV.ii.39; Ham III.i.166.
- Blow v. To play a wind instrument: Cor I.iv.12.
- Bow-case n. A long narrow case for the bow of a stringed instrument: Hiv II.iv.273.
- Broken adj. Of a boy's voice: Cracked: AWTEW II.iii.66.
- Broken music n. Part music, especially music to be performed in a consort by instruments of different classes (i.e., both string and wind): AYLI I.ii.150; Hv V.ii.263.
- * Burden n. (Also 'burthen') AYLI III.ii.261.
- Carol n. Originally a ring-dance; hence, any kind of a song at a festival; a hymn of joy: AYLI V.iii.27.
- Chant v. To sing: Ham IV.vii.178.
- * Close n. Hv I.ii.182.

- Compass n. The full range of tones which a voice or a musical instrument is capable of producing: Ham III. ii.384-5.
- Compose v. To write either songs or instrumental music: AWTEW III.vii.40.
- * Concord n. AWTEW I.i.186.
- Consent n. A synonym for 'harmony': Hv I.ii.181.
- * Courante n. (Also 'coranto') AWTEW II.ii.49; Hv III.v.33.
- * Cracked adj. CE V.i.308.
- Cymbals n. A Pair of conclave plates of brass or bronze, which are struck together to produce a sharp ringing sound: Cor V.iv.53.
- * Dirge n. Ham I.ii.12.
- * Discord n. AWTEW I.i.186; CE I.i.5; AYLI II.vii.6; Hvi III. i.106, 194, IV.i.188, IV.iv.22, V.v.63; Ham IV. i.45.
- * Ditty n. AYLI V.iii.36; Hiv III.i.124.
- * Division n. Hiv III.i.211.
- Drone n. The bass pipe of a 'bagpipe', which emits only one continuous tone: Hiv I.ii.85.
- * Drum n. AWTEW = 14 ref.; Hiv = 3 ref.; Hvi = 4 ref.;
& v. Cor = 9 ref.; Ham = 1 ref.; A&C = 2 references.
- Dulcet adj. A synonym for 'melodious': AWTEW I.i.186.
- Ear n. In a musical sense: CE II.ii.116, III.ii.169, IV.iv.7; Cor IV.v.64; Ham I.iii.30; A&C II.iii. 115, IV.viii.36; Cym II.iii.33, III.iv.178.
- * Fiddlestick Hiv II.iv.535.
- Fife n. A small shrill-toned instrument of the flute kind, used chiefly to accompany the drum in military music: Cor V.iv.52.
- Fingering n. The action of using the fingers in playing upon an instrument: Cym II.iii.17.

- * Flute n. A&C II.ii.200, II.vii.138.
- Fret n. In musical instruments like the guitar, formerly
 a ring of gut, now a bar or ridge of wood, metal
 etc., placed on the fingerboard at the proper
 places for the fingers: Ham III.ii.388.
- * Full adj. Hv I.ii.182.
- * Galliard n. Hv I.ii.252.
- Govern n. To regulate an instrument by means of its stops:
 Ham III.ii.372.
- * Guts n. Cym II.iii.33.
- * Harmony n. Ham III.ii.378; Cym V.v.467.
- * Harp n. Hiv III.i.123.
- * Harsh adj. Cor IV.v.65; Ham III.i.166.
- Holding n. A synonym for 'burden' (q.v.): A&C II.vii.117.
- * Instrument n. AYLI IV.iii.68; Hiv V.ii.98; Cor I.ix.41; Cym
 IV.ii.186.
- * Jar n. AYLI II.vii.5.
- * Jarring adj. AWTEW I.i.186; Hvi IV.i.188.
- * Jig n. Ham II.ii.522, III.i.150.
- Kettledrum n. A percussion instrument consisting of a hollow
 hemisphere of brass or copper, over the edge of
 which parchment is stretched and tuned to a de-
 finite note: Ham I.iv.11.
- Key n. The scheme or system of tones in which a piece of
 music is written: CE V.i.310.
- * Lark n. Cym II.iii.21.
- [A]larum n. An alarm, especially a call to arms: Cor I.iv.9.
- * Lavolta n. Hv III.v.33.
- Lay n. A song or lament: Ham IV.7.183.
- * Lute n. Hiv I.ii.84, III.i.211; Hvi I.iv.96.

- Lute-case n. A case of cloth or leather for a 'lute': Hv III.ii.44.
- March n. A composition of marked rhythm (of which the rhythmical drum-beats originally formed the essential part), designed to accompany the marching of troops: Ham I.ii.201.
- * Measure n. AYLI V.iv.45, 199.
- * Melodious adj. Ham IV.vii.183.
- * Morris n. AWTEW II.ii.25.
- * Music CE II.ii.116; AYLI I.ii.150, II.vii.173, V.iv.184; AWTEW III.vii.40; Hiv I.i.44, I.ii.183, V.ii.263; Hvi IV.ii.40; Ham II.i.73, III.i.164, III.ii.302, 375, 384, III.iv.141, V.ii.410; A&C II.v.1, 11, II.vii.115, IV.iii.14; Cym II.iii.12, 32, 44, III.iv.178.
- * [Music of the] spheres: AYLI II.vii.6; A&C V.ii.84.
- Musical adj. Of, pertaining to, or capable of producing music: AYLI II.vii.5; Hiv III.i.237; Hv III.vii.18.
- * Musician n. AYLI IV.i.11; Hiv III.i.226, 235.
- * Noise n. AYLI IV.ii.10; Cor II.iii.60; A&C IV.iii.13.
- * Note n. CE III.ii.45; AYLI II.v.3, 48, V.iii.36; Hv IV.ii.35; Ham III.ii.383; Cym IV.ii.237, 241.
- * Number n. A&C III.ii.17.
- * Organ n. Ham III.ii.385.
- Out of tune adj. Implies that the tones of a musical instrument need to be adjusted to a standard pitch: Ham III.i.166.
- * Part n. Hv I.ii.181.
- * Pipe n. AYLI II.vii.162; Hv III.vii.18; Cor III.ii.113; Ham III.ii.75, 366, 387.
- Plain-song n. A simple melody or theme upon which might be raised a 'descant': Hv III.ii.6.
- * Play [an instrument] v. Ham III.ii.366, 387, 389; AYLI IV.iii.68, V.iv.184; Hiv III.i.226, V.i.4; Hvi I.iv.96.

- * Playing adj. A&C II.v.11.
- Psaltery n. A musical instrument in which strings of graded lengths are stretched over a trapezoidal sounding box and plucked by the fingers or a plectrum: Cor V.iv.52.
- Ravishing adj. Used in reference to music's ability to enrapture or ravish the soul of a listener: Hiv III.i.211.
- Recorder n. An instrument of the flute kind: Ham III.ii.303, 360.
- * Ring v. CE IV.ii.51; Hvi I.vi.11, IV.ii.41.
- Sackbut n. An obsolete bass trumpet with a slide like that of a trombone for altering the pitch: Cor V.iv.52.
- * Shrill adj. High-pitched: Hiv II.iv.29; Hv III.Pro1.9.
- Shrill-
 shrieking adj. Hv III.iii.35.
- Shrill-
 sounding adj. Ham I.i.151.
- Shrill-
 Tongued adj. A&C I.i.32, III.iii.15.
- * Sing v. CE = 1 ref.; AYLI = 11 ref.; AWTEW = 5 ref.;
 Hiv = 7 ref.; Hv = 3 ref.; Hvi = 2 ref.;
 Cor = 1 ref.; Ham = 6 ref.; A&C = 4 ref.;
 CYM = 6 references.
- Singing adj. Hv I.ii.198; Cor IV.vi.8.
- * Siren n. CE III.ii.47.
- Snatch n. A few bars of music: Ham IV.vii.178.
- * Song n. CE = 1 Ref.; AYLI = 7 ref.; AWTEW = 3 ref.;
 Hiv = 3 ref.; Ham = 3 ref.; Cym = 1 reference.
- * Sound n. CE = 1 ref.; AYLI = 1 ref.; AWTEW = 1 ref.;
 & v. Hiv = 2 ref.; Hv = 2 ref.; Hvi = 4 ref.;
 Cor = 2 ref.; Ham = 2 ref.; Cym = 1 reference.
- Stop n. A vent-hole of a wind instrument by which difference of pitch is produced; also a 'fret': Ham III. 76, 381.

- * Strain n. AYLI IV.iii.68.
- * Strike v. A&C IV.viii.38.
- * Sweet adj. Hiv III.i.209; Ham I.ii.87, III.iv.209; Cym II.iii.19.
- * Tabor n. Cor I.vi.25, V.iv.53.
- Tabourine n. A kind of drum, less wide and longer than the tabor: A&C IV.viii.37.
- * Tongue n. AYLI II.v.31; Hvi V.iii.42; Cym II.iii.16.
- * Treble adj. AYLI II.vii.162.
- * Trip v. AYLI V.i.68.
- * Trump or
 Trumpet n. Hvi = 1 ref.; AWTEW = 2 ref.; Hiv = 2 ref.;
 Hv = 5 ref.; Cor = 4 ref.; Ham = 4 ref.;
 A&C = 2 references.
- * Tune n. AYLI = 3 ref.; Hiv = 1 ref.; Cor = 1 ref.;
 & v. Ham = 3 ref.; A&C = 2 ref.; CYM = 4 references.
- Tucket n. A flourish on a trumpet; a signal for marching
 used by cavalry troops: Hv IV.ii.35.
- Ventages n. The stops of a wind instrument: Ham III.ii.373.
- * Voice n. AYLI = 2 ref.; Hv = 1 ref.; Cor = 2 ref.;
 Ham = 3 ref.; A&C = 1 reference.
- * Warble v. AYLI II.v.38.
- * Whistle n. & v. AYLI II.vii.163; Hv III.Pro1.9.

NOTES

Chapter I

¹(London: Rockliff Publishing Corp., 1956). Hereafter cited as Manifold.

²(London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 16.

³(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), p.101. Hereafter cited as Cowling.

⁴"Music and Marston's The Malcontent," Studies in Philology, LI (1954), 163-71.

⁵"The Use of Music in the Plays of Marston," Music & Literature, XXXVII (1956), 154-64. Hereafter cited as Ingram.

⁶London, p. 288. Hereafter cited as Meres. Marston is named in this work in the section entitled "Comparative Discourse of our English Poets with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets."

⁷John Hollander, The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500-1700 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 25. Hereafter cited as Hollander.

⁸Music and Society: England and the European Tradition (London: Dennis Dobson Ltd., 1950), pp. 84-85. Hereafter cited as Mellers.

⁹Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p.201. Hereafter cited as Woodfill.

¹⁰Edited by R. Alec Harman (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1952). Hereafter cited as Morley.

¹¹Morley, p. 10.

¹²Woodfill, p. 223.

¹³The Schoole of Abuse, conteining a pleasant inuective against poets, pipers, plaiers, iesters and such like caterpillers of a common-welth (London, 1587), pp.21-22. Hereafter cited as Gosson.

¹⁴Nan Cooke Carpenter, Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p.153. Hereafter cited as Carpenter.

¹⁵Carpenter, p. 186.

¹⁶For more details concerning Marston's attendance at Brasenose, see R.E. Brettell, "John Marston, Dramatist at Oxford, 1591(?)—1594, 1609," Review of English Studies, III (October 1927), 398-405.

Chapter II

¹⁷Hollander, p. 25.

¹⁸London, 1609 ("trans. J. Douland"), sigs. b2^v—c1^r. Hereafter cited as Dowland.

¹⁹John Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (London: Methuen and Co.Ltd., 1961), p. 59. Hereafter cited as Stevens. His source for this phrase is Boethius' De Musica.

²⁰Stevens, p. 59. Unfortunately, the author does not give his source for the phrase he here cites.

²¹The editor of this play, G.K. Hunter, incorrectly notes that "close" means "harmonize" (p. 48). I have inserted in brackets the word "cadence" meaning "come to an end together," a meaning which I think is somewhat more correct than Hunter's.

²²The names prefixed to the speeches in this play are often incorrect. This name is a good example: in all likelihood, the character speaking is Claridiana. It is impossible to determine whether this error is the result of carelessness on the part of Marston, William Barksted, or the typesetter of the first edition (1613) of this play.

²³In The Praise of Musicke published anonymously at "Oxenford" in 1586 (and hereafter cited as The Praise of Musicke), we read that Mercury "fashioned a peece of wood proportionable to the shel of a fish, and put thereon three strings distinct in sounds" (p. 14). This instrument was the lyre. It is probably Mercury's association with this instrument which Marston makes use of in the many passages in which Mercury's name appears.

²⁴Hollander, p. 25.

²⁵Dowland, sig. c1^r.

²⁶Dowland, sigs. c2^r — c2^v, y1^r.

²⁷Dowland, sig. y2^r.

²⁸Meres, p. 27.

²⁹Hollander, p. 42.

³⁰Morley, p. 145.

³¹Morley, p. 147.

³²Mellers, p. 72.

³³This 'law' can quite easily be applied to the over-all plot structures of the comedies and tragicomedies of this period. The setting of Marston's The Malcontent is one of social discord; by the end of the play, however, this discord has been removed, and social concord has taken its place. The Dutch Courtesan begins its plot movement in concord, the schemes of Franceschina introduce discord, and the denouement again shows us a state of concord.

³⁴For example, Histrion-Mastix (III, 269): "O these be Lawyers! Concords enemies, / Prydes fuell shall their fire of strife increase."

³⁵Bel-vedere, or The Garden of the Muses (London, 1600), p.81. Hereafter cited as Bodenham. Marston is named (as "Iohn Marstone") along with thirty-nine other writers in "To the Reader" in this work, an Elizabethan equivalent of a dictionary of quotations. Unfortunately, the work does not indicate which of the forty authors wrote the various lines on selected topics.

³⁶Translated by Sir Thomas Hoby (1561), edited by Drayton Henderson (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co.Inc., 1928), pp. 75, 77. Hereafter cited as Castiglione. Marston knew The Courtier very well. In Antonio and Mellida, one of the minor characters is named Castilio Balthazar (and this is noted by the play's editor, G.K. Hunter). In The Malcontent, one character says good-bye to another with the words "Adieu, my true court friend; farewell, my dear Castilio" (I.iv.87). See also The Poems, edited by Arnold Davenport, passim, for Marston's adaptations of parts of Hoby's translation.

³⁷Edited by S.E. Lehmborg (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1962), pp.22-23.

³⁸Gosson, p. 15.

³⁹Pierre de La Primaudaye, The French Academie, newly translated by T.B[owes] (London, 1586), p. 743. Hereafter cited as La Primaudaye. La Primaudaye's spellings in this passage are inconsistent and confusing; for these reasons I have modernized his use of "u" and "v", "i" and "j".

⁴⁰Meres, p. 104.

⁴¹The use of music in this play is examined by Christian Kiefer in the article previously noted, "Music and Marston's The Malcontent."

⁴²The Praise of Musicke, p. 40.

⁴³Meres, pp. 53, 49-50. Meres is here citing Plutarch.

⁴⁴Dowland, sig. bl^r.

⁴⁵Meres, p. 287.

⁴⁶Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie, in The Works of Richard Hooker, edited by John Keble (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1845), II, 159. Hereafter cited as Hooker.

⁴⁷Hooker, pp. 159-60.

⁴⁸A Newe Booke of Tabliture, shewing howe to play the lute, orpharion, and bandora etc. (London, 1596), in the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to Bridget, Countess of Sussex.

⁴⁹Bodenham, p. 56.

⁵⁰The Praise of Musicke, p. 61.

⁵¹Castiglione, p. 77.

⁵²Philomela. The Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale (1592) in The Life and Works of Robert Greene, edited by Alexander B. Grosart (re-printed New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), XI, 175. Hereafter cited as Greene.

⁵³Hooker, p. 160.

⁵⁴A Briefe Discourse of the True Use of Charact'ring the Degrees in Measurable Musicke (London, 1614), in the epistle dedicatory "To the Right Worshipfull, most worthy Grave Senators, Guardians, of Gresham Colledge in London."

⁵⁵The Schoole of Musicke (London, 1603), sig. b1^r. Hereafter cited as Robinson.

⁵⁶To "run a note" is to prolong one note while singing. Antonio's "breaking" of this same note means that he interrupts this prolongation.

⁵⁷For example, Philip J. Finkelpearl (in John Marston of the Middle Temple [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969], p. 154 and hereafter cited as Finkelpearl) states that Antonio's "transformation is psychologically credible. For seven acts Marston has displayed his neurasthenic unsteadiness. Finally, in the sanctity of a church, the voice of his father, emanating from the grave, has precipitated a collapse." This form of explanation seems unnecessary. The revenge, although both bloody and spectacular, was probably as unreal to Marston's audience and as unanalysable psychologically as an Aztec sacrifice would be to a twentieth-century audience. Although we might thrill at the sheer bestiality of such a sacrifice, this thrill would be sublimated by the realization that the sacrifice is part of a ritual whose importance supposedly transcends the destruction of an individual human being.

⁵⁸The editor of the edition used in this thesis. G.K. Hunter, notes (p. 80 n.) that the "music-houses" were "evidently a feature of the Paul's theatre stage façade--but not otherwise known."

⁵⁹Meres, p. 287.

⁶⁰Finkelpearl, p. 218.

⁶¹Anthony Gibson, A Womans Woorth... (London, 1599), p. 26. Hereafter cited as Gibson.

⁶²Morley, p. 101.

⁶³Castiglione, p. 75.

⁶⁴Gretchen Ludke Finney, Musical Backgrounds for English Literature: 1580-1650 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1961), pp. 93-94. Hereafter cited as Finney.

⁶⁵Gibson, p. 24.

⁶⁶The interchangeability of names for instruments is also demonstrated in this passage. In the passage from Jack Drum's Entertainment cited two paragraphs prior to this, Apollo's instrument is called a lyre. Marston is on more neutral ground when, in What You Will, he has Bydet ask simply that "gentle Appollo touch thy nimble string" (II, 273).

⁶⁷Finney, p. 47.

⁶⁸Cited by Morrison Comegys Boyd, Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism, 2nd edition (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), p. 189. Hereafter cited as Boyd.

⁶⁹These comments are made in an essay, "Marston as a Dramatic Author," prefaced to volume III of Wood's edition of the Plays, pp. xvi and x.

⁷⁰The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation (reprint New York: Vintage Books, 1964), p. 87 n. Miss Ellis-Fermor states that this scene is "the best sustained instance in Jacobean drama of unmitigatedly horrible description . . . a well-articulated string of ghoulish detail." Miss Ellis-Fermor's judgment echoes that of A.H. Bullen, Marston's nineteenth-century editor (The Works of John Marston, 3 vols., London, 1887), who said that "It is to be feared that this cherished offspring of Marston's imagination will not be regarded with affection by many readers. For hideous blood-curdling realism the description of the witch Erictho and her cave is, I venture to think, without a parallel in literature. Tough as whipcord must have been the nerves of an audience which could listen patiently to the recital of Erictho's atrocities" (I, xlv-xlv).

⁷¹Only one critic of Marston's has commented upon these lines. R.W. Ingram simply notes that Erictho "promises to conjure up spirits by music" (p. 155).

⁷²Translated by Robert Graves (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1956), pp. 139-49.

⁷³Edited by E.M.W. Tillyard (London: Chatto and Windus, 1947), p. 20. Hereafter cited as Davies.

⁷⁴Finney, p. 111.

⁷⁵Cowling remarks: "To get this supernatural effect, Shakespeare introduced musicians underneath the stage in Antony and Cleopatra (Act IV. Sc. 3). The Direction reads 'Music of the Hoboyes is under the stage.' Antony's soldiers are filled with foreboding and believe that his familiar spirit is forsaking him. Shakespeare was not original in sending musicians beneath the stage, for two years before, Marston in his Sophonisba (1606), played at Blackfriars, had done the same thing" (p. 41). Manifold remarks: "In Antony and Cleopatra, III [sic], iii, the S.D. 'Music of hautboys, as under the stage', is unaccountable. It suggests a very vague parallel with Gorboduc and with Marston's Sophonisba ('infernal music') but nothing more" (p. 61). Manifold apparently forgets his own comment when, later in his work, he says, when speaking of the 'infernal music': "This could mean, and I think it does mean, music played under the stage, 'subterranean music'. Shakespeare has something of the same kind in Antony and Cleopatra, IV, iii" (p. 95).

Chapter III

⁷⁶Dictionarie French and English (London, 1571), sig. v3^r.

⁷⁷Gosson, p. 15.

⁷⁸Robinson, sig. b1^r.

⁷⁹Dowland, sig. b1^r.

⁸⁰Hollander, p. 26.

⁸¹Hollander, pp. 26-27.

⁸²Morley, p. 19.

⁸³Morley, p. 19.

⁸⁴Musica sacra: to sixe voyces, newly Englished [by R.H.]
(London, 1608), in the epistle dedicatory "To the vertuous Louers of
Musicke."

⁸⁵As stated in my preface, I have included this controversial play in my study because for numerous reasons I strongly believe that it is, except for a few brief passages and even briefer re-workings by William Barksted, substantially Marston's. I also believe that this play was written some time in either 1601 or early in 1602. Although a detailed study of the play's date of composition is outside the compass of a note, the five most important reasons for believing that this play is one of Marston's earlier efforts can be briefly listed:

(1) The Insatiate Countess contains explicit allusions to Elizabeth I in her old age, the Earl of Essex and his disastrous rebellion of February 1601, and an explicit reference to the hanging, drawing and quartering of one of Essex's compatriots, Capt. Thomas Lee, on 17 February 1601 (see Wood edn., III, 20; 27, 39, 66-67; 29, 54);

(2) this play contains allusions, also quite explicit, to three of Shakespeare's pre-1601 works, namely Romeo and Juliet, As You Like It and The Merchant of Venice (III, 10, 30, 53);

(3) there is an allusion to Jonson's Poetaster (1601) (III, 23);

(4) there are clear echoes of passages in two of Marston's earliest plays, Jack Drum's Entertainment and Antonio's Revenge, in this work (III, 35, 43);

(5) and most important, the play is consciously ridiculed by an unknown author (Middleton? Dekker?) in the anonymously published Blurt, Master Constable which was entered in the Stationers' Register on 7 June 1602 and printed in quarto in this year. The similarity in plot details, characters, and passages in speeches in these two plays cannot be coincidental. If Blurt, Master Constable was on the stage before its registration, and is, as I strongly suspect, a work designed to ridicule Marston's The Insatiate Countess, then Marston's play must have been written in either mid or late 1601 or early in 1602. Because of the play's highly topical Essex allusions, I suspect that 1601 was its date of composition.

⁸⁶Hooker, p. 159.

⁸⁷La Primaudaye, chapter 66, p. 743.

⁸⁸Robinson, sig. b2^r.

⁸⁹Hollander, p. 124.

⁹⁰Morley, p. 58.

⁹¹This bibliography is appended to Boyd's work, Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism, pp. 323-47.

⁹²Madrigals to Five Voyces (London, 1601) in the "Preface to the skillfull Musitian" which is dated 28 March 1601.

⁹³See Finkelpearl, Appendix B, p. 266. The Stationers' Register date for the two Antonio plays is 24 October 1601.

⁹⁴Additional MS. 24655. This setting is reproduced by Andrew J. Sabol in "Two Unpublished Stage Songs for the 'Aery of Children'," Renaissance News, XIII (Autumn 1960), 222-32.

⁹⁵Edited by Edmund Horace Fellowes (London: Stainer & Bell, Ltd., n.d.), p. 32. Hereafter cited as Fellowes. The title of this particular song is "Sweet Philomel in Groves and Deserts" and it is probably related (through a common source) to Robert Greene's Philomela. The Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale (1592).

⁹⁶Fellowes, pp. 38-9.

⁹⁷Boyd, p. 334.

⁹⁸Ben Jonson [Life and Complete Works: 11 vols.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), IX, 639. Hereafter cited as Herford and Simpson.

⁹⁹Herford and Simpson, 650.

¹⁰⁰Robinson, sig. b2^r.

¹⁰¹Morley, p. 145.

¹⁰²Morley, p. 223.

¹⁰³Hollander, p. 105.

¹⁰⁴The Dutch Courtesan, p. 93.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., I.i.18-19.

¹⁰⁶What You Will, II, 240.

¹⁰⁷The Dutch Courtesan, I.ii.20-21. Cf. Jack Drum's Entertainment (III, 191): "He whose throat squeakes like a treble Organ, and speakes as small and shrill, as the Irish-men crie Pip, fine Pip."

¹⁰⁸Histrion-Mastix, III, 296.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 266. Marston has a rather unusual usage of this instrument in The Fawn (IV.i.28-30): "And have I advanc'd my husband, with the labor of mine own body, from the black guard [kitchen drudges] to be one of the duke's drummers [recruit gatherers] . . . ?"

¹¹⁰The Insatiate Countess, III, 16.

¹¹¹Jack Drum's Entertainment, III, 181 & 220.

¹¹²The Dutch Courtesan, II.i.63-78. Concerning this passage, the editor of this play, M.L. Wine, notes: "'In regalls (where they have a pipe they call the Nightingale pipe, which containeth water) the sound hath a continual trembling' ([Francis] Bacon, Sylva Sylvarum, 1627)."

¹¹³Dowland, sig. fl^r.

¹¹⁴From The Court of Sapience. Cited by Hollander, p. 75.

¹¹⁵Morley, p. 13. The reader must note that although Morley speaks of only six notes (i.e., an hexachord) the octave as we know it (A to G) existed far earlier than the late sixteenth century. The hexachord was a group of six consecutive notes regarded as a unit for purposes of singing at sight. It was introduced (or perfected) by Guido d'Arezzo in the 11th century and was still widely current up to the 17th century.

¹¹⁶Morley, p. 13.

¹¹⁷Morley, p. 295.

¹¹⁸Morley, p. 308.

¹¹⁹Morley, p. 300.

¹²⁰For example, Sigmund Spaeth in his study Milton's Knowledge of Music (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1913) indexes "mood" and "mode" together on pp. 163-64.

¹²¹Finney, p. 107.

¹²²Hollander, pp. 207, 32, 34. For an excellent explanation of the classical modes in terms of modern musical notation, see Cecil J. Sharp, English Folk Song: Some Conclusions, 4th edition revised by Maud Karpeles (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1965), pp. 47-67.

¹²³Morley, p. 300.

¹²⁴The Praise of Musicke, p. 56.

¹²⁵The Praise of Musicke, p. 55.

¹²⁶Gosson, p. 14.

¹²⁷Manifold, pp. 8, 28, 29.

¹²⁸Gosson, pp. 13, 20.

¹²⁹Davies, p. 26.

¹³⁰From The Arte of English Poesie (1589) and cited by Finney, p. 39.

¹³¹From "A Defense of Rhyme" (1603?) and cited by Finney, p.40.

¹³²Dowland, sigs. c2^r — c2^v.

¹³³Cited by Hollander, pp. 168-69.

¹³⁴The Education of Children in Learning (London, 1588), sig. c2^r.

¹³⁵Hollander, p. 163.

Chapter IV

¹³⁶W. Barclay Squire, "Music," in Shakespeare's England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), II, 32. Hereafter cited as Squire.

¹³⁷Squire, p. 22.

¹³⁸Caroline F.E. Spurgeon, Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us (Cambridge: University Press, 1968 [1935]), pp. 74, 78.

¹³⁹Edward W. Naylor, Shakespeare and Music: With Illustrations From the Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1931), pp. 3-4.

Appendix A

¹⁴⁰My guide for these dates was Appendix A, "Problems of Date and Authorship in the Plays" in Anthony Caputi, John Marston, Satirist (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961), pp. 251-75.

Appendix B

¹⁴¹My guide for these dates was "Probable Dates" in The Complete Works of Shakespeare, edited by Hardin Craig (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1961), p. 38.

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